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PARTY CONGRESSES

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Gorbachev CPSU Central Committee Political Report

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[Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee delivered on 25 February by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the 27th CPSU Congress at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses — differences between *PRAVDA* and Moscow Television version noted within brackets; the Moscow Television version was originally published in the 26 and 27 February Soviet Union *DAILY REPORT* National Affairs Supplement Nos 038 and 039; this authoritative *PRAVDA* version is being published for archival purposes]

[Text] Comrade delegates, esteemed guests:

The 27th Congress of the CPSU has gathered at an abrupt turning point in the life of the country and the contemporary world as a whole. We are beginning our work with a deep understanding of our responsibility to the party and the Soviet people. It is our task to conceptualize broadly, in Lenin's style, the times we are living in, and to work out a realistic, thoroughly weighed program of action that will organically blend the grandeur of our aims with the realism of our capabilities, and the party's plans with the hopes and aspirations of every person. The resolutions of the 27th congress will determine both the character and the rate of our movement towards a qualitatively new condition of the Soviet socialist society for years and decades ahead.

The congress is to discuss and adopt a new edition of the CPSU Program, amendments to the party statutes, and guidelines for economic development in the next 5 years and the longer term. I need hardly mention what enormous importance these documents have for our party, our state, and our people. Not only do they contain an assessment of the past and a definition of the urgent tasks, but also a glimpse into the future. They speak of what the Soviet Union will be like as it enters the 21st century, of the image of socialism and its positions in the international arena, of the future of humanity.

Soviet society has come a long way in its development since the now operative party program was adopted. In substance, we have built the whole country anew, have made tremendous headway in the economic, cultural, and social fields, and have raised generations of builders of the new society. We have blazed the trail into outer space for humanity. We have secured strategic military parity and have thereby substantially restricted imperialism's aggressive plans and capabilities to start a nuclear war. The positions of our motherland and of world socialism in the international arena have grown considerably stronger.

The path traveled by the country, its economic, social and cultural achievements, convincingly confirm the vitality of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and socialism's tremendous potential as embodied in the progress of Soviet society. We can be legitimately proud of everything that has been acheived in these years of intense labor and struggle.

(applause) While duly commending the achievements, the leadership of the CPSU considers it to be its duty to tell the party and the people honestly and frankly about the deficiencies in our political and practical activities, the unfavorable tendencies in the economy and the social and spiritual sphere, and about the reasons for them. For a number of years the practical actions of party and state bodies tailed behind the needs of the times of life — not only because of objective factors, but also for reasons that are primarily subjective. The problems in the country's development built up more rapidly than they were being solved. The inertness and stiffness of the forms and methods of administration, the decline of dynamism in our work, and an escalation of bureaucracy — all this was doing no small damage. Signs of stagnation had begun to surface in the life of society.

The situation called for change, but a peculiar psychology — how to improve things without changing anything — took the upper hand in the central bodies and, for that matter, at the local level as well. But that cannot be done, comrades. Stop for an instant, as they say, and you fall behind a mile. We must not shrink from the problems that have arisen. That sort of attitude is much too costly to the country, the state and the party. So let us say it loud and clear!

The priority task is to overcome the negative factors in society's socioeconomic development as rapidly as possible, to impart to it the essential dynamism and acceleration, to draw to the maximum on the lessons of the past, so that the decisions we adopt for the future should be explicitly clear and responsible, and the concrete actions purposeful and effective.

The situation has come to a turning point not only in internal but also in external affairs. The changes in current world affairs are so deep-going and significant that they require reassessment and comprehensive analysis of all factors. The situation created by nuclear confrontation calls for new approaches, methods, and forms of relations between the different social systems, states and regions.

The arms race started by imperialism has resulted in the 20th century in world politics ending with the question of whether humanity will manage to elude the nuclear danger or if the policy of confrontation will take precedence, increasing the probability of nuclear conflict. The capitalist world has not abandoned the ideology and policy of hegemonism, its rulers have not yet lost the hope of taking social revenge, and continue to indulge themselves with illusions of superior strength. The sober view of what is going on is hewing its way forward with great difficulty through a dense thicket of prejudices and preconceptions in the thinking of the ruling class. But the complexity and acuteness of this moment in history makes it increasingly vital to outlaw nuclear weapons, destroy them and other weapons of mass annihilation completely, and improve international relations.

The decision to accelerate the socioeconomic development of our society adopted at the April (1985) Plenum is an expression of the party's profound awareness of the fundamentally new situation within the country in the world arena and of its responsibility for the motherland's future and is a manifestation of its will and determination to implement urgent transformations.

Formulating the long-term and fundamental tasks, the Central Committee has consistently taken guidance in Marxism-

Leninism, the truly scientific theory of social development. It expresses the vital interests of the working people, and the ideals of social justice. It derives its vitality from its everlasting youthfulness, its constant capacity for development and creative generalization of the new facts and phenomena, and from its experience of revolutionary struggle and social transformations.

Any attempt at turning the theory by which we are guided into an assortment of ossified schemes and prescriptions valid everywhere and in all contingencies is most definitely contrary to the essence and spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin wrote back in 1917 that Marx and Engels had rightly ridiculed the "mere memorizing and repetition of 'formulas' that at best are capable only of marking out **general** tasks which are necessarily modifiable by the **concrete** economic and political conditions of each particular **period** of the historical process." Those are the words, comrades, that each of us must ponder and act upon.

The **concrete** economic and political situation we are in, and the particular **period** of the historical process that Soviet society and the whole world are going through, require that the party and all its members display their creativity, their capacity for innovation and skill to transcend the framework of habitual but already outdated notions.

A wide, frank, and constructive examination of all the crucial problems of our life and of party policy, has taken place during the discussion of the precongress documents. We have come to the congress enriched by the wisdom and experience of the whole party, the whole people. We can now see more clearly what has to be done and in what order, and what levers we must set in motion for our progress to acquire the necessary acceleration.

These days, many things — in fact everything — will depend on how effectively we succeed in using the advantages and possibilities of the socialist system, its economic power and social potential, in updating the obsolescent social patterns and the style and methods of work, in bringing them abreast of the changed conditions. That is the only way for us to increase the might of our country, to raise the material and spiritual life of the Soviet people to a qualitatively new level, and to enhance the constructive influence of socialism's example as a social system on world development.

We look to the future confidently because we are clearly aware of our tasks and the ways to carry them out. We look to the future confidently because we rely on the powerful support of the people. We look to the future confidently because we are acting in the interests of the socialist fatherland, in the name of the great ideals to which the Communist Party has dedicated itself wholeheartedly. **(applause)**

I. The Contemporary World: Basic Tendencies and Contradictions

Comrades! The draft CPSU Program contains a thorough analysis of the main trends and features of the current development of the world. It is not the purpose of the program to anticipate the diversity of the concrete developments of the future. That would be a futile occupation. But here is another, no less accurate point: if we want to follow a correct, scientifically grounded policy, we must clearly understand the key tendencies of the current reality. To penetrate deep into the dialectic of the events, into their objective logic, to draw the right conclusions that reflect the motion of the times, is no simple thing, but is imperatively necessary.

In the days before the October Revolution, referring to the capitalist economy alone, V.I. Lenin noted that the sum-total of the changes in all their ramifications could not have been grasped even by seventy Marxes. But, Vladimir Ilich continued, "Marxism has discovered the **laws** and **objective** logic of these changes and of their historical development in its chief and basic features."

The modern world is complicated, diverse and dynamic, and shot through with contending tendencies and contradictions. It is a world of the most intricate alternatives, anxieties and hopes. Never before has our home on earth been exposed to such great political and physical stresses. Never before has man exacted so much tribute from nature, and never has he been so vulnerable to the forces he himself has created.

World developments confirm the fundamental Marxist-Leninist conclusion that the history of society is not a sum of fortuitous elements, that it is not a disorderly Brownian motion, but a law-governed onward process. Not only do its contradictions pass sentence on the old world, on everything that impedes the advance; they are also the source, the motive force behind the progress of society, progress that is taking place in the context of the struggle that is inevitable as long as exploitation and exploiting classes still exist.

The liberation revolutions triggered by the Great October Revolution are determining the image of the 20th century. However considerable the achievements of science and technology, and however great the influence on the life of society and of the rapid scientific and technological progress, nothing but the social and spiritual emancipation of man can make him truly free. And no matter what difficulties, objective and artificial, the old world may occasion, the course of history is irreversible. **(applause)**

The social changes of the century are altering the conditions for the further development of society. New economic, political, scientific, technical, internal and international factors are beginning to operate. The interconnection between states and between peoples is increasing. And all this is setting new, especially rigid, demands upon every state, whether in foreign policy, in economic and social activity, or the spiritual image of society.

The progress of our time is rightly identified with socialism. **World socialism** is a powerful international entity with a highly developed economy, substantial scientific resources, and a dependable political-military potential. It accounts for more than one-third of humanity, for dozens of countries and peoples opening up in every way the intellectual and moral wealth of man and society. A new way of life has taken shape based on the principles of socialist justice, with neither oppressors nor oppressed, neither exploiters nor exploited, where power belongs to the people. Its distinctive features are collectivism and comradely mutual assistance, triumph of the ideas of freedom, unbreakable unity between the rights and duties of every member of society, the

dignity of the individual, and true humanism. Socialism is a realistic option open to all humanity, an example projected into the future. **(prolonged applause)**

Socialism sprang up and was built in countries that were far from economically and socially advanced at that time, differing greatly from one another in mode of life and their historical and national traditions. Each one of them advanced to the new social system along its own way, confirming Marx's prediction about the infinite variations and gradations of the same economic basis in its concrete manifestations.

The way was neither smooth nor simple. It was exceedingly difficult to raise backward or ruined economies, to teach millions of people to read and write, to provide them with a roof over their heads, with food and free medical aid. The very novelty of the social tasks, the ceaseless military, economic, political, and psychological pressure of imperialism, the need for tremendous efforts to ensure defense — all this could not fail to influence the course of events, their character, and the rate at which the socioeconomic programs and transformations were carried into effect. Nor were mistakes in politics, and various subjectivist deviations, avoided.

But such is life; it always takes the shape of diverse contradictions, sometimes quite unexpected ones. This other point is much more important: socialism has demonstrated its ability to resolve social problems on a fundamentally different basis than before, namely a collectivist one, has brought the countries to higher levels of development, and has given the working people a decent and secure life. **(applause)**

Socialism is continuously improving social relations, multiplying its achievements purposefully, building up the impact and credibility of its example, and demonstrating the tangible humanism of the socialist lifestyle. By so doing, it is erecting an increasingly dependable barrier to the ideology and policy of war and militarism, reaction and violence, to all forms of misanthropy, and is actively furthering social progress. It has grown into a powerful moral and material power, and has shown what opportunities are arising for modern-day civilization. **(applause)**

The course of social progress is tied in closely with **anti-colonial** revolutions, national liberation movements, the renascence of quite a few countries, and the emergence of dozens of new ones. Having won political independence, they are working hard to overcome backwardness, poverty, and sometimes desperate misery — the entire painful legacy of their slavish past. They, who were once rightless objects of imperialist policy, are now making history by themselves.

Social progress is expressed in the development of **the international communist and working-class movement** and in the growth of the new massive democratic movement of our time, including the antiwar and anti-nuclear movement. It is also apparent in the stratification of the political forces of the capitalist world, notably the United States, the metropolitan center of imperialism. Here, progressive tendencies are forcing their way forward through a system of monopolistic totalitarianism, exposed to the continuous pressure of organized reactionary forces, including their enormous propaganda machine which loosens avalanches of stupefying misinformation upon people.

Marx compared progress in exploiting society to that "hideous pagan idol, who would not drink but from the skulls of the slain." "In our time," he wrote, "everything contains its opposite, so to speak. We see how machines which possess the wonderful power to lessen human labor and make it more fruitful bring people hunger and exhaustion. New, hitherto unknown sources of wealth are turned into sources of poverty through some strange and incomprehensible magic. The victories of artifice are bought, so to speak, at the cost of moral degradation. It seems that as mankind masters nature, man becomes the slave of other men or the slave of his own baseness. Even the pure light of science can apparently only shine against the dark background of ignorance. All our discoveries and all our progress seem to lead to a situation where material forces are endowed with intellectual life, while human life, deprived of its intellectual side, is reduced to the level of a mere material force."

Marx's analysis is staggering for its historical sweep, accuracy, and depth. It has, indeed, become still more relevant with reference to the bourgeois reality of the 20th century than it was in the 19th. On the one hand, the swift advance of science and technology has opened up unprecedented possibilities for mastering the forces of nature and improving humanity's conditions of life. On the other, the "enlightened" 20th century is going down in history marked by such imperialist outgrowths as the most bloody wars, an orgy of militarism and fascism, genocide, and the destitution of millions of people. Ignorance and obscurantism go hand in hand in the capitalist world with lofty achievements of science and culture. That is the society we are compelled to be neighbors of, looking for ways of cooperation and mutual understanding. Such is the command of history.

The progress of humanity is also directly connected with the **scientific and technological revolution**. It matured slowly and gradually, and then, in the final quarter of the century, gave the start to a gigantic accretion of man's material and spiritual resources. They were of two kinds. A qualitative leap was registered in humanity's productive forces. But there was also a qualitative leap in means of destruction, in military matters, endowing man for the first time in history with the physical capacity for destroying all life on earth.

The facets and consequences of the scientific and technological revolution vary in the different socio-political systems. The capitalism of the 1980's, the capitalism of the age of electronics and computer science, computers and robots, is leaving more millions of people, including young and educated people, without jobs. Wealth and power are being increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few. Militarism is gorging itself on the arms race to an incredible degree, striving to gain control little by little, over the political levers of power. It is becoming the ugliest and the most dangerous monster of the 20th century. By its efforts, the most advanced scientific and technical ideas are being converted into weapons of mass destruction.

The scientific and technological revolution is setting before the developing countries a most acute question: Are they fated to enjoy the achievements of science and technology in full measure in order to gain strength for combatting neocolonialism and

imperialist exploitation or will they simply remain on the periphery of world development? The scientific and technological revolution shows in bold relief that many socioeconomic problems impeding progress in that part of the world are unresolved.

Socialism has everything it needs to place modern-day science and technology at the service of the people. But it would be wrong to think that the scientific and technological revolution is creating no problems for socialist society. Experience shows that its advance involves improvement of social relations, a change of mentality, the forging of a new psychology, and the assertion of dynamism as a way of life and a rule of being. It calls insistently for continuous reassessment and renewal of the prevailing patterns of management. In other words, the scientific and technological revolution not only opens up prospects, but also sets higher demands on the entire organization of home and international affairs. Certainly, scientific and technological progress cannot abolish the laws of social development or the social purpose and content of such development. But it exercises a tremendous influence on all the processes that are going on in the world, on its contradictions.

It is quite obvious that the two socioeconomic systems differ substantially in their readiness and also in their capacity to conceptualize and resolve the arising problems.

Such is the world we are living in on the threshold of the 3d millennium. It is a world full of hope, because people have never before been so amply equipped for the further development of civilization. But it is also a world overloaded with dangers and contradictions, prompting the thought that this is perhaps the most alarming period in history.

The first and most important group of contradictions in terms of humanity's future is connected with **the relations between countries of the two systems, the two formations**. These contradictions have a long history. Since the Great October Revolution in Russia and the split of the world on the social-class principle, fundamental distinctions have come to light in the assessment of current affairs and in the views concerning the world's social perspective.

Capitalism regarded the birth of socialism as an "error" of history which should be "rectified". It was to be rectified at any cost, by any means, irrespective of law and morality: by armed intervention, economic blockade, subversive activity, sanctions and punishments, or refusal of any and all cooperation. But nothing could interfere with the consolidation of the new system and its historical right to live.

The difficulty that the ruling classes of the capitalist world have in understanding the realities, the [illegible]lical recurrence of attempts at resolving by force the whole group of contradictions dividing the two worlds are, of course, anything but accidental. Imperialism is prompted by its intrinsic mainsprings and very socioeconomic essence to translate the competition of the two systems into the language of military confrontation. By dint of its social nature, imperialism ceaselessly generates aggressive, adventurist policy.

Here we can speak of a whole complex of impelling motives: the predatory appetites of the arms manufacturers and the influential military-bureaucratic groups, the selfish interest of the monopolies in sources of raw materials and sales markets, the bourgeoisie's fear of the ongoing changes, and, lastly, the attempts to resolve its own, worsening problems at socialism's expense.

The latter are especially typical of U.S. imperialism. It was nothing but imperial ideology and policy, the wish to create the most unfavorable external conditions for socialism and for the USSR that prompted the start of the race of nuclear and other arms after 1945, just when the crushing defeat of fascism and militarism was, it would seem, offering a realistic opportunity for building a world without wars, and a mechanism of international cooperation — the United Nations — had been created for this purpose. But imperialism's nature asserted itself that time again.

Today, too, the right wing of the U.S. monopolistic bourgeoisie regards the stoking up of international tensions as something that justifies military allocations, claims to global supremacy, interference in the affairs of other states, and an offensive against the interests and rights of the American working people. No small role seems to be played by the calculation of using tension to exercise pressure on the allies, to make them completely obedient, to subordinate them to Washington's dictation.

The policy of total contention, of military confrontation, has no future. Flight into the past is no response to the challenges of the future. It is rather an act of despair which, however, does not make this posture any less dangerous. Washington's deeds will show when and to what extent it will understand this. We, for our part, are ready to do everything we can in order to radically improve the international situation. To achieve this, socialism need not renounce any of its principles or ideals. It has always stood for, and continues to stand for, the peaceful coexistence of states belonging to different social systems. **(prolonged applause)**

As distinct from imperialism, which is trying to halt the course of history by force, to regain what it had in the past, socialism has never, of its own free will, related its future to any military solution of international problems. This was borne out at the very first major discussion that took place in our country after the victory of the Great October Revolution. During that discussion, as we may recall, the views of the "Left Communists" and the Trotskiyites, who championed the theory of "revolutionary war" which, they claimed, would carry socialism to other countries, were firmly rejected. This position, as Lenin emphasized in 1918, "would be completely at variance with Marxism, for Marxism has always been opposed to 'encouraging' revolutions, which developed with the growing acuteness of the class antagonisms that engender revolutions." Today, too, we are firmly convinced that encouraging revolutions from outside, and doubly so by military means, is futile and inadmissible.

The problems and crises experienced by the capitalist world arise within its own womb and are a natural result of the internal antagonistic contradictions of the old society. In this sense, capitalism negates itself as it develops. Unable to cope with the acute problems of the declining phase of capitalism's development, the ruling circles of the imperialist countries resort to means and methods that are obviously incapable of saving the

society which history has doomed.

The myth of a Soviet or communist "threat" that is being circulated today, is meant to justify the arms race and the imperialist countries' own aggressiveness. But it is becoming increasingly clear that the path of war can yield no sensible solutions, either international or domestic. The clash and the struggle between the opposite approaches to the long-term prospects for world development have become especially complex in nature. Now that the world has huge nuclear stockpiles and the only thing experts argue about is how many times or dozens of times humanity can be destroyed, it is high time to begin a practical withdrawal from balancing on the brink of war, from an equilibrium of fear, to normal, civilized forms of relations between the states of the two systems.

In the years to come, the main struggle will evidently center on the actual content of the policy that can safeguard peace. It will be a complicated and many-sided struggle, because we are dealing with a society whose leading circles refuse to assess the realities of the world and its perspectives in sober terms, or to draw serious conclusions from their own experience and that of others. All this is an indication of the wear and tear suffered by its internal systems of immunity, of its social senility, which reduces the probability of far-reaching changes in the policy of the dominant forces and augments its degree of recklessness.

That is why it is not easy at all, in the current circumstances, to predict the future of the relations between the socialist and the capitalist countries, the USSR and the United States. The decisive factors here will be the correlation of forces on the world scene, the growth and activity of the peace potential, and its capability of effectively repulsing the threat of nuclear war. Much will depend, too, on the degree of realism that Western ruling circles will show in assessing the situation. But it is unfortunate when not only the eyes but also the souls of politicians are blind. With nuclear war being totally unacceptable, peaceful coexistence rather than confrontation of the systems should be the rule in interstate relations.

The second group of contradictions consists of **the intrinsic contradictions of the capitalist world itself**. The past period has amply confirmed that **the general crisis of capitalism** is growing deeper. The capitalism of today, whose exploitative nature has not changed, is in many ways different from what it was in the early and even in the middle 20th century. Under the influence and in the setting of the scientific and technological revolution, the conflict between the productive forces, which have grown to gigantic proportions, and the private-owner social relations, has become still more acute. Here there is growth of unemployment and deterioration of the entire set of social problems. Militarism, which has spread to all areas, is applied as the most promising means of shoring up the economy. The crisis of political institutions, of the entire spiritual sphere, is growing. Reaction is exercising fierce pressure all along the line — in domestic and foreign policy, economy and culture, and the use of the achievements of human genius. The traditional forms of conservatism are giving place to authoritarian tendencies.

Special mention should be made of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, a most dangerous aspect of the crisis of capitalism. This concerns not only foreign policy. In the modern-day system of imperialism it is also a most important area of domestic policy, a means of putting pressure on all the advanced and progressive elements that live and fight in the capitalist countries in the non-socialist part of the world.

True, the present stage of the general crisis does not lead to any absolute stagnation of capitalism and does not rule out the possible growth of its economy and the mastery of new scientific and technical trends. It "allows for" sustaining concrete economic, military, political and other positions, and in some cases even for possible social revanchism, the regaining of what had been lost before. But lacking positive aims and guidelines that would express the interests of the working masses, capitalism now has to cope with the unprecedented interweaving and mutual strengthening of all groups of its contradictions. Never before in all the centuries of its development has it known so many social, and other, impasses.

Among the first to grow more acute are the contradictions **between labor and capital**. In the 1960's and 1970's, with the onset of a favorable economic situation, the working class, and the working people in general, managed to secure a certain improvement in their condition. But from the mid-seventies on, the proliferating economic crises and another technological restructuring of production changed the situation, and enabled capital to go on the counter-offensive, depriving the working people of a considerable part of their social gains. For a number of standard of living indicators, the working people were flung many years back. Unemployment has reached a postwar high. The condition of peasants and farmers is deteriorating visibly: some farms are going bankrupt, with their former owners joining the ranks of wage workers, while others become abjectly dependent on large agricultural monopolies and banks. The social stratification is growing deeper and increasingly striking. In the United States, for example, one percent of the wealthiest families own riches that exceed by nearly 50 percent the total wealth of 80 percent of all the American families, who make up the lower part of the property pyramid.

Imperialism's ruling circles are cannot fail to understand that such a situation is fraught with social explosions and political destabilization. But this is not making their policies more considered. On the contrary, the most irreconcilable reactionary groups of the ruling class have, by and large, taken the upper hand in recent years. The period is marked by an especially massive and brutal offensive of the monopolies on the rights of the working people.

The whole arsenal of means at capitalism's disposal is being put to use. Trade unions are persecuted and economically blackmailed. Anti-labor laws are being enacted. The left and all other progressives are being persecuted. Continuous control or, to be more precise, surveillance of people's state of mind and behavior has become standard. Deliberate cultivation of individualism, of the principle that might is right in the fight for survival, immorality, and hatred of all that is democratic — this is practiced on an unprecedented scale.

The future and the course of the working people's fight for their rights, for social progress, will show how the basic contradiction

between labor and capital will develop and what will be the results of the prevailing situation. But mention must also be made of the serious danger to international relations from any further substantial shift to the right of policy, or of the entire internal situation in some capitalist countries. The consequences of such a development are hard to predict, and we must not underrate their danger.

The last decades of the century are marked by new outbreaks of **inter-imperialist** contradictions and the appearance of their new forms and tendencies. This group of capitalist contradictions has not been eliminated either by class affinity, the interest in uniting forces, by military economic and political integration, or by the scientific and technological revolution. The latter has incontestably accelerated the process of the internationalization of capitalist production, has given added impetus both to the evening up of levels and to the spasmodic development of capitalist countries. The competition that has grown more acute under the impact of scientific and technological progress, is hitting those who have dropped behind still more mercilessly. The considerable complication of the conditions of capitalist reproduction, the diversity of crisis processes, and the intensification of international competition have made imperialist rivalry especially acute and bitter. The commercial and economic struggle in the world market is witnessing ever greater reliance on the power of "national" state-monopoly capitalisms, with the role of the bourgeois state becoming increasingly aggressive and egoistic.

The transnational monopoly capital has gained strength rapidly. It is trampling on and monopolizing whole branches or spheres of production both on the scale of individual countries and in the world economy as a whole. By the early eighties the transnational corporations accounted for more than one-third of the industrial production, more than one half of the foreign trade, and nearly 80 percent of the patents for new machinery and technology in the capitalist world.

The core of the transnational corporations consists of American firms. The complex of enterprises abroad that they have created uses an additional army of workers and office workers equalling half the number employed in manufacturing in the United States. At present, they produce something like 1.5 trillion dollars worth of goods and services a year, or nearly 40 percent of aggregate U.S. output.

The size of the "second economy" of the United States is double or triple that of the economies of such leading West European powers as the FRG, France, and Britain, and second only to that of Japan. Today, the biggest U.S. transnational companies are empires whose economic activity is comparable to the gross national product of entire countries.

A new knot of contradictions has appeared and is being swiftly tightened **between the transnational corporations and the nation-state form of society's political organization**. The transnational corporations are undermining the sovereignty both of developing and of developed capitalist countries. They make active use of state-monopoly regulation when it suits their interests, and come into harsh conflict with it when they see the slightest threat to their profits from the actions of bourgeois governments. But for all that, the U.S. transnational supermonopolies are, as a rule, active conductors of state hegemonism and the imperial ambitions of the country's ruling circles.

The relations between the three main centres of present-day imperialism — the United States, Western Europe and Japan — abound in visible and concealed contradictions. The economic, financial, and technological superiority which the United States enjoyed over its closest competitors until the end of the sixties has been put to a serious test. Western Europe and Japan managed to outdo their American patron in some things, and are also challenging the United States in such a traditional sphere of U.S. hegemony as that of the latest technology.

Washington is continuously calling on its allies not to waste their gunpowder on internecine strife. But how are the three centers of modern-day imperialism to share one roof if the Americans themselves, manipulating the dollar and the interest rates, are not loath to fatten their economy at the expense of Western Europe and Japan? Wherever the three imperialist centers manage to coordinate their positions, this is more often than not the effect of American pressure or outright dictation, and works in the interests and aims above all of the United States. This, in turn, sharpens, rather than blunts, the contradictions.

It appears that people are beginning to wonder about this cause-and-effect relationships. For the first time, governments of some West European countries, the social democratic and liberal parties, and the public at large have begun to openly discuss whether present U.S. policy coincides with Western Europe's notions about its own security and whether the United States is going too far in its claims to "leadership". The partners of the United States have had more than one occasion to see that someone else's spectacles cannot substitute for one's own eyes.

The clash of centrifugal and centripetal tendencies will, no doubt, continue as a result of changes in the correlation of forces within the imperialist system. Still, the existing complex of economic, political-military and other common interests of the three centers of power can hardly be expected to break up in the prevailing conditions of the present-day world. But within the framework of this complex, Washington should not expect unquestioning obedience to U.S. dictation on the part of its allies and competitors, and especially so to the detriment of their own interests.

The specificity of the inter-imperialist contradictions of the current period also encompasses a possible change of their configuration in the coming decades, with new capitalist "centers of power" coming on the scene. This will doubtless lead to a further growth of the bulk of contradictions, to their closer interweaving and aggravation.

A new, complex and mobile set of contradictions has taken shape between imperialism and the developing countries and peoples. The liberation of former colonies and semi-colonies was a strong political and ideological blow to the capitalist system. It has ceased to exist in the shape that it had assumed in the 19th century and in which it extended into the first half of the 20th. A slow, arduous, but unstoppable process of socioeconomic transformation is under way in the life of nations comprising the majority of mankind. This process, which has brought about no few fundamental changes, has also encountered considerable

difficulties.

By political maneuvering, promises and bribery, military threats and blackmail, and all too often by direct interference in the internal affairs of the newly free countries, capitalism has in many ways managed to sustain the earlier relationships of economic dependence. On this basis, imperialism managed to create and adjust the most refined system of neocolonialist exploitation, and to tighten its hold on a considerable number of newly free states.

The consequences of this are tragic. The developing countries with a population of more than two billion, have, in effect, become a region of wholesale poverty. In the early 1980's, the per capita income in the newly free countries was, on the whole, less than 10 percent that of the developed capitalist states, and in the past 30 years, far from shrinking, the gap has grown wider. Nor is it a question of just comparative poverty. There is illiteracy and misery, chronic undernourishment and hunger, appalling child mortality, and epidemics that afflict hundreds of millions of people.

This is a disgrace for civilized humanity! And its culprit is imperialism. Not only from the point of view of history, that is, of colonial plunder on entire continents which left behind a heritage of unbelievable backwardness, but equally in terms of present-day practices. In just the past 10 years, the profits squeezed out of the developing countries by U.S. corporations exceeded their inputs fourfold. And in Latin America and the Caribbean, in the same period, the profits of U.S. monopolies were over eight times greater than their investments.

It is no exaggeration to say that, to a large extent, the imperialist system is still living off the plunder of the developing countries, off their totally merciless exploitation. The forms and methods are changing, but the essence remains. In the United States, for example, a very tangible portion of the national income comes from these very sources. The developing countries are being exploited by all the imperialist states, but, unquestionably, U.S. imperialism is doing it with the least consideration for them. Non-equivalent exchange, unequal trade, juggling and abuse of interest rates — the pumps of the transnational corporations are being used to one and the same end. They are adding still more to the poverty and misery of some, and to the wealth of others, and are increasing the polarization in the capitalist world economy.

The distressing condition of the developing countries is a major worldwide problem. This and nothing else is the true source of many of the conflicts in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Such is the truth, no matter how much the ruling circles of the imperialist powers may invoke the "hand of Moscow" in order to vindicate their neocolonialist policy and global ambitions.

Take the problem of debts. Together with the profits shipped out yearly from the developing countries, the accumulated debt means just one thing: the prospects for their development have shrunk, and a further deterioration of the already terrible social, economic, and other problems is inevitable.

In the existing circumstances, these countries will not, of course, be able to repay their debts. And if no fair solution is devised, the situation is fraught with grave socioeconomic and political consequences for international relations. It would be wrong to say that the imperialist ruling circles are blind to the underlying danger here. But all their concerns boil down to one thing — how to save the present system of enrichment through the exploitation and superexploitation of the peoples of the developing countries.

Another thing is certain as well: there is an irrefutable causal connection between the trillion-sized debt of these countries and the more than trillion-sized growth of U.S. military expenditures in the past 10 years. The 200-odd billion dollars that are being annually pumped out of the developing countries and the practically equal size of the U.S. military budget in recent years, are no coincidence. That is why militarism has a direct stake in maintaining and tightening the system of neocolonial superexploitation.

It is also obvious that with capitalism's contradictions growing sharper and its sphere of predominance shrinking, neocolonialism is becoming an increasingly important source of the resources that provide monopolistic capital with the ability for social maneuvering, reducing social tensions in the leading bourgeois states, and for bribing some sections of the working people. It is a truly extraordinary source, for a worker's hourly rate in the advanced capitalist states is higher, sometimes several times higher, than a day's earnings in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

All this cannot go on forever. But, of course, no miracle can be expected: the situation is not going to straighten itself out on its own. The military force that the United States is counting on to maintain the status quo, to safeguard the interests of the monopolies and the military-industrial complex, and to prevent any further progressive change in the newly free countries, can only complicate the situation and precipitate new conflicts. The bags of money are liable to become kegs of gunpowder. Sooner or later, in this area too, capitalism will have to choose between the policy of force and shameless plunder, on the one hand, and the opportunity for cooperation on an equitable basis, on the other. The solutions must be radical — in the interests of the peoples of the developing states. **(applause)**

Analysis of yet another group of contradictions — those on a global scale, affecting the very foundations of the existence of civilization, leads to serious conclusions. This refers first of all to pollution of the environment, the air and oceans, and to the exhaustion of natural resources. The problems are aggravated not only by excessive loads on the natural systems as a consequence of the scientific and technological revolution, and by the increasing extent of man's activity. Engels, in his time, foresaw the ill effects of exposing nature to the blind play of market forces. The need for effective international procedures and mechanisms that would make for the rational use of the world's resources as an asset belonging to all humanity is becoming increasingly apparent.

The global problems, affecting all humanity, cannot be resolved by the efforts of one state or a group of states. This calls for cooperation on a worldwide scale, for close and constructive joint action by the majority of countries. This cooperation must be

based on completely equal rights and respect for the sovereignty of each. It must be based on conscientious compliance with accepted commitments and with the standards of international law. Such is the categorical call of the times in which we live.

Capitalism also causes an impoverishment of **culture**, an erosion of the spiritual values created over the centuries. Nothing elevates man more than knowledge. But in probably no other period of history has mankind experienced any stronger pressure of falsehood and deceit than it does now. Bourgeois propaganda shovels ingeniously doctored information on people all over the world, imposing thoughts and feelings, and programming a civic and social attitude advantageous to the ruling forces. What knowledge, what values and moral standards are implicit in the information dispensed to the people and in the system of education is, first and foremost, a political problem.

Life itself brings up the question of safeguarding culture, of protecting it from bourgeois corruption and vandalization. That is one of the most important tasks of all humanity. We cannot afford to neglect the long-term psychological and moral consequences of imperialism's current practices in the cultural sphere. Its impoverishment under the onslaught of unbridled commercialization and the cult of force, the preaching of racism, the propaganda of lowly instincts, of the ways of the criminal world and the lower depths of society, must be, and certainly will be, rejected by mankind.

The problems, as you see, comrades, are many, and they are large-scale and intricate. But it is clear that their conceptualization is, on the whole, lagging behind the scope and depth of the current task. The imperative condition for success in resolving the topical issues of international life is to reduce the time of search for political accords and to secure the swiftest possible transition to constructive actions.

We are perfectly well aware that not everything by far is within our power and that much will depend on the West, on its leaders' ability to see things in sober perspective at important crossroads of history. The U.S. President said once that if our planet were threatened by a landing from another planet, the USSR and the United States would quickly find a common language. But isn't a nuclear disaster a more tangible danger than a landing of unknown extraterrestrials? Isn't the ecological threat great enough? Don't all countries have a common stake in finding a sensible and fair approach to the problems of the developing states and peoples?

Lastly, isn't all the experience accumulated by mankind enough to draw perfectly justified practical conclusions today rather than wait until some other crisis breaks out? What does the United States hope to win in the long term by producing doctrines that can no longer fit U.S. security into the modest dimensions of our planet?

Striving to keep in the saddle of history, imperialism is resorting to all possible means. But such a policy is costing the world dearly. The nations are compelled to pay an ever higher price for it. To pay both directly and indirectly. To pay with millions of human lives, with a depletion of national resources, with the diversion of gigantic sums on the arms race. With the failure to solve numerous, increasingly difficult problems. And in the long run, perhaps, with the highest price possible that can be imagined.

The U.S. ruling circles are clearly losing their realistic bearings in this far from simple period of history. Aggressive international behavior, increasing militarization of politics and thinking, contempt for the interests of others — all this is leading to an inevitable moral and political isolation of U.S. imperialism, widening the abyss between it and the rest of humanity. It is as though the opponents of peace in that country are unaware that when nuclear weapons are at the ready, the time and space for civilization lose their habitual outlines, and mankind becomes the captive of chance.

Will the ruling centres of the capitalist world manage to embark on the path of sober, constructive assessments of what is going on? The easiest thing is to say: maybe yes and maybe no. But history denies us the right to make such predictions. We cannot take "no" for an answer to the question: Will mankind survive or not? We say: The progress of society, the life of civilization, must and will continue. **(prolonged applause)**

We say this not only by dint of the optimism that is inherent in Communists, by dint of our faith in people's intelligence and common sense. We are realists and are perfectly well aware that the two worlds are divided by very many things, and deeply divided, too. But we also see clearly that the need to resolve most vital problems affecting all humanity must prompt them to interaction, awakening humanity's heretofore unseen powers of self-preservation. And here is the stimulus for solutions commensurate with the realities of our time.

The course of history, of social progress, requires ever more insistently that there should be **constructive and creative interaction between states and peoples on the scale of the entire world**. Not only does it so require, but it also creates the requisite political, social and material premises for it.

Such interaction is essential in order to prevent nuclear catastrophe, in order that civilization could survive. It is essential in order that other worldwide problems that are growing more acute should also be resolved jointly in the interests of all concerned. The realistic dialectics of present-day development consist in a combination of competition and confrontation between the two systems and in a growing tendency towards interdependence of the countries of the world community. This is precisely the way, through the struggle of opposites, through arduous effort, groping in the dark to some extent, as it were, that the contradictory but **interdependent and in many ways integral world** is taking shape.

Communists have always been aware of the intrinsic complexity and contradictoriness of the paths of social progress. But at the center of these processes — and this is the chief distinction of the communist world outlook — there unfailingly stands man, his interests and cares. Human life, the possibilities for its comprehenisve development, as Lenin stressed, is of the greatest value; the interests of social development rank above all else. That is what the CPSU takes its bearing from in its practical activity. **(prolonged applause)**

We proceed from the premise that the main direction of struggle in contemporary conditions is to create worthy, truly human material and spiritual conditions of life for all nations, to see to it that our planet should be habitable, and to deal with its riches rationally. Above all, to deal rationally with the chief value of all — with people and all their potentialities. That is exactly where we offer the capitalist system to compete with us in a setting of lasting peace. (**applause**)

[In the television broadcast, Ligachev interrupts to announce a 30-minute break]

II. The Acceleration of the Country's Socioeconomic Development — a Strategic Course

Comrades! In putting forward its strategy for accelerating the social and economic development of the country at the April plenum, the CPSU Central Committee thereby made a decision of historic importance. It received the broad support of the party and of all the people, and is being put forward for examination by the congress.

What do we understand by acceleration? First and foremost, raising the economic growth rate. But not only that. Its essence lies in the new quality of growth: The all-around intensification of production on the basis of scientific and technical progress, a structural reshaping of the economy, and efficient forms of managing, organizing and stimulating labor.

The course toward acceleration does not amount only to a transformation in the economic field. It envisages the carrying out of an active social policy and a consistent assertion of the principle of socialist justice. The strategy of acceleration presupposes improving social relations, renewing forms and methods of work in political and ideological institutes, deepening socialist democracy, and decisively overcoming inertia, stagnation and conservatism — everything that holds back social progress.

The main thing which is to guarantee us success is the living creativity of the masses, and the maximum use of the huge possibilities and advantages of the socialist system. In a word, comrades, the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development holds the key to all our problems in the near and more distant future — economic and social, political and ideological, and internal and external ones.

Only in this way can and should a new qualitative state of Soviet society be attained.

A. The Results of Socioeconomic Development and the Need To Accelerate It

Comrades! The presentation and discussion of the tasks of the party's program for discussion at our Congress dictates the need for a large-scale approach to evaluating the results of the country's development.

In the quarter century following the adoption of the CPSU's third program the Soviet Union registered impressive successes. Basic production assets in the national economy increased sevenfold. Thousands of enterprises were built; new branches were created. National income almost quadrupled, while industrial output increased fivefold and agricultural output increased by a factor of 1.7.

Whereas before the war and in the early postwar years the economic level of the United States was difficult to match, in the 1970's we came substantially closer to it in terms of scientific-technical and economic potential and had exceeded it in the production of some of the most important types of output.

These achievements were the result of enormous efforts on the part of the people, which made it possible to enhance significantly the well-being of the Soviet people. Over a quarter of a century, the population's real per capita income increased by a factor of 2.6 and public consumption funds increased more than fivefold; 54 million apartments were built, which enabled the majority of families to improve their housing conditions; the transition to universal secondary education was accomplished; and the number of people graduating from higher educational institutions quadrupled. The successes of science, medicine and culture are generally recognized. The panorama of achievements would not be complete without mentioning the profound advances in the field of social and inter-nationality relations and in the further development of democracy.

At the same time, in the 1970's difficulties began to mount up in the national economy. Rates of economic growth diminished markedly. As a result, tasks for developing the economy posed in the CPSU Program failed to be fulfilled, even the lower targets of the 9th and 10th 5-Year Plans. It also proved impossible to fulfill completely the social program laid down for these years. Lagging behind was permitted to occur in the material base for science and education and for health care and cultural and everyday services for the population.

Of course, certain factors which do not depend on us have also affected the state of affairs. But they have not been decisive ones. The main thing is that we did not make timely political evaluations of the change in the economic situation. We did not recognize the entire criticality and urgency of the transfer of the economy to intensive methods of development and to the active utilization in the national economy of the achievements of scientific-technological progress. There have been many appeals and much talk about this. But matters have remained virtually at a standstill.

Through intertia, the economy has continued to develop on an extensive basis to a significant degree and has been oriented toward bringing into production additional labor and material resources. As a result, rates of growth for labor productivity and certain other efficiency indicators have fallen seriously. Attempts to set the matter right through new construction have aggravated the problem of balance. A national economy which possesses enormous resources has run up against a shortage of them. A gap has formed between public requirements and the production level which has been attained, between cash-backed demand and the material satisfaction of it.

Although efforts have recently been undertaken, it has not been possible to completely rectify the situation. Production of most types of industrial and agricultural output in the 11th 5-Year

Plan did not reach the levels which were outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress. Serious lagging behind has been allowed in machine building, in the petroleum and coal industries, in electronical engineering, ferrous metallurgy, and chemicals, as well as in capital construction. Targets for the main indicators of efficiency growth and the improvement of the standard of living of the population have not been met.

From all of this, comrades, we should draw the most serious lessons.

The first of them can be described as the lesson of truth. A responsible analysis of the past clears the path to the future, while half-truths, shamefully avoiding sharp angles, slow down the working out of realistic policies and hinders our progress.

"Our strength," Vladimir Ilich Lenin used to say, "lies in stating the truth." **(prolonged applause)** That is why the Central Committee considered it necessary in the new edition of the party program to once again speak of the negative processes which emerged in the seventies and the beginning of the eighties, and that is why we are also talking about them today at the congress.

Another lesson concerns purposefulness and decisiveness in practical actions; the transfer to the intensive path is no simple matter for an economy as enormous as ours: it requires a great deal of effort, time, and the highest sense of responsibility. But,having begun transformations, one must not confine oneself to half-measures. It is necessary to act consistently and energetically, not shrinking from the boldest steps.

And still another lesson, and one might say the chief one: Success in any matter is to a decisive extent determined by how energetically and with what awareness the masses take part in it. A most important condition for accelerating our growth is convincing the broad strata of working people of the correctness of the chosen path, giving them a **moral** and material interest, and restructuring the psychology of the cadres. The greater the discipline and level of organization and the responsibility of each person for the work entrusted to him and for its results, the quicker the forward movement will be.

Today it is a primary task for the party and for the whole people to produce a decisive change from the unfavorable tendencies in economic development, to give the economy the necessary dynamism, and to open up the scope for initiative and creativity by the masses and for truly revolutionary transformations.

There is no other path. Without accelerated economic growth, social programs will remain nothing but fond desires, although, comrades, they are urgent. Soviet people must perceive in a short timescale the results of common efforts toward a cardinal resolution to the food problem, the satisfaction of requirements for high quality goods and services, an improvement in medical services, housing, and everyday conditions, and the conservation of the environment.

Speeding up socioeconomic development will make it possible to make a weighty contribution to strengthening world socialism and will raise cooperation with the fraternal countries to a higher level. It will considerably expand our opportunities for economic links with peoples in developing countries and with states of the capitalist world. In other words, the practical implementation of a course toward acceleration will have far-reaching consequences for the fate of our native land. **(applause)**

B. The Basic Guidelines of Economic Policy

Comrades! The draft CPSU Program and basic guidelines determine the main targets of economic and social development. By the end of the century the national income is to be nearly doubled, with a doubling of the production potential and its qualitative transformation. Labor productivity will rise by 2.3 to 2.5 times, the energy-intensiveness of national income will be reduced by a factor of 1.4, and metal intensiveness will nearly be halved. This will mean a steep turn toward production intensification and to raising quality and efficiency.

In the future, on the basis of intensifying these processes, a transition is envisaged toward an economy with a higher degree of organization and efficiency, with comprehensively developed forces of production, with mature socialist industrial relations, and a smoothly running economic mechanism. Such is our strategic line.

As stressed at the conference of the CPSU Central Committee in June (1985), the main means of realizing this is scientific-technical progress and the fundamental transformation of society's forces of production. It is impossible to achieve cardinal changes on the former materiel-technical basis. We see the way out in a profound reconstruction of the national economy on the basis of some of the most advanced achievements in science and technology, a breakthrough into leading directions of scientific-technical progress, and the reorganization of the economic mechanism and the system of management.

1. Implementing the Reconstruction of the National Economy on the Basis of Scientific and Technical Progress

The CPSU has immense experience in implementing very major scientific-technical and socioeconomic transformations. But however considerable these may be, our work in the past, in terms of its scale and complexity, cannot be compared with what must be done in the forthcoming period for the reconstruction of the national economy. What is needed for this?

First and foremost, a change in the structural and investment policy. The essence of the changes lies in the focus of attention being transferred from quantitative indicators to quality and efficiency, from interim goals to end goals, from the expansion of production funds to their renewal, and from the building-up of fuel raw material resources to the improvement of their utilization, to the acceleration of development of science-intensive [naukoyemkiy] sectors and of the industrial and social infrastructure.

A major step in this direction is to be made in the present 5-year plan period. It is envisaged that over R200 billion more in capital investments will be channelled into the reconstruction and technical refurbishment of production capacities than in the preceding 10 years.That is no small amount. Nevertheless, planning and economic organs must continue with their search for extra oppor-

tunities for these purposes.

Major comprehensive programs have been elaborated as regards strategic directions. The implementation of these has begun. Branches which determine scientific and technical progress will develop more dynamically, as will those which provide a swift economic return and a solution to urgent social problems. Considerable financial, material, scientific, and labor resources are being concentrated on the accelerated development of these branches.

It is clear that the effectiveness of reconstruction and the rate of economic growth depend to a decisive degree on **machine building**. That, indeed, is where fundamental scientific and technical ideas materialize and where new labor tools and machinery systems determining progress in other branches of the national economy are created. That is where the foundations are laid for a broad scale emergence into resource-saving technologies which are new in principle and for raising labor productivity and the quality of output.

Congress delegates know that the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers recently adopted a decision on further developing machine building. In essence, that is a general state program for the modernization of one of the most important sectors of industry. A single organ for managing it has been set up. The task that has been set the machine-building complex is, by the end of the 12th 5-Year Plan to sharply raise the technical and economic level and quality of machinery, equipment, and instruments and 1.8 times more capital investment than in the preceding 5 years is being allocated for the renovation of this branch of industry.

What, specifically, do we expect from the implementation of this program? There will be an increase greater than 40 percent in the output of machinery and equipment, and their qualitative characteristics will improve. The increasing flow of new generation equipment will create conditions for radical reequipping of the national economy and for growth in its efficiency. As a result, we will be able to save the labor of around 12 million people and over 100 million metric tons of fuel calculated over a 1 year period, and gain an effect worth many thousands of millions of rubles. The use of the DON-1500 combine harvester alone, as calculations show, will make it possible to significantly reduce the stock of grain-harvesting machines, to disengage about 400,000 machine operators, and reduce the losses of grain by millions of metric tons.

The wide electronization and the integrated automation of production will have a huge influence on the rates of technical reconstruction. Concrete tasks have been determined for the development and mass assimilation of modern computer technology and the development of the component base. The programmed provision of computer programs and automated control systems is being put on an industrial basis. In the USSR Academy of Sciences a department for information science and computer technology has been created, joining together the institutes and design offices which are entrusted with the scientific provision of work in this field.

The idea of the radical reconstruction of the fuel and energy complex permeates the Energy Program. In this, special stress is laid on the use of energy-saving technologies, the replacement of liquid fuel by gas and coal fuel, and the more intensive processing of oil. The adoption of advanced technologies is planned in the extracting industry as well: the open-cast method and the hydraulic method in coal extraction, the raising of the standard and reliability of oil equipment, and the universal introduction of automated systems. In the present 5-year plan 2 and 1/2 times as many capacities will be brought in at nuclear power stations as in the last 5-year plan. Also, the mass replacement of obsolete units at thermal power stations will be carried out.

Much has to be done in metallurgy and in the chemical industry, in reequipping them with more productive equipment. The production of fundamentally new and improved structural and other advanced materials will speed up the development of electronics, machine-building, construction, and other branches of the national economy.

The party places great significance on the technical reequipping of the production infrastructure, primarily of transportation and communications. Light industry and other sectors of industry which work directly in satisfying the population's needs will receive priority development. Specialized and other sectors of industry will be brought into the production of progressive equipment for them.

We will not be able to realize technical reconstruction without a radical improvement in capital construction. This demands that the whole construction complex must be raised to a new, industrial, and organizational level, and that the investment cycle must be reduced by a minimum of 50 percent both in the reconstruction of enterprises and in the construction of new facilities. One should no longer be reconciled to low rates of construction, as a result of which huge resources are being frozen and scientific and technical progress in the national economy is being slowed down.

All these tasks are gigantic in volume and in significance.In the final analysis, their solution will determine the fate of the fulfillment of plans, and the rates of our growth. Every branch, every enterprise should have a precise program of continuous renovation of production. It follows that the responsibility of planning and economic organs for carrying out what has been mapped out increases substantially. It is to this end that the activity of the party organizations should also be directed.

It is particularly important not to tolerate what is done for show [pokazukha], the substitution of palliative solutions for the essence of the matter. The many instances of ministries and departments, under the flag of reconstruction, building new installations, filling them with obsolete equipment, drawing up expensive plans which do not ensure that production reaches the highest technical and economic indices, put one on one's guard.

Here is evidence of this approach. Reequipping is now being carried out at the Bryansk machine-building works, which produces engines for diesel locomotives. It is planned to spend about R140 million on this; half of this has already been assimilated. What effect will the renovation of capacities have? It turns out that the use of progressive technologies has not been provided for.

The number of workers has already increased by almost 1,000. Return on capital has fallen, and the main thing is that it is planned to produce an obsolete engine using the new capacities, although a more efficient model has been developed and undergone testing.

How can one understand the position of the managers of Mintyazhmash [Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building] and MPS [Ministry of Railways]? Evidently certain comrades did not understand the depth and importance of the tasks facing them. Such examples deserve the most severe condemnation as undermining the party's policy of reconstruction and speeding up scientific-technical progress. Such phenomena must be treated with all severity.

The need for reconstruction puts new tasks before **science**. The CPSU will consistently pursue the line of strengthening in every way its material and technological basis and create the conditions for scientists' fruitful activity. But the country has a right to expect from them discoveries and inventions which ensure genuinely revolutionary changes in the development of technical equipment and technology.

Important measures have recently been mapped out for increasing the efficiency of the work of scientific research establishments. They concern questions of providing incentives for scientists' work, of new forms of interaction between science and production. A decision was adopted recently on the creation of intersectorial scientific-technical complexes, which include powerful parent [golovnyye] institutes, including academic institutes, planning and design organizations, and experimental industrial production plants.

Measures are also being taken for making the work of scientific research institutes of individual branches of industries more active, for increasing their contribution to the acceleration of the scientific and technical progress. This process, however, is proceeding at an inadmissably slow rate. Many institutes remain an extension of the ministerial apparatus, by acting quite often as advocates of departmental interests, and are bogged down in routine and paperwork. The June conference raised acutely the issue of bringing science and practical experience closer to each other and of including sectorial institutes in the production and science-production associations.

We have got to find out who is opposing it, what the position of the ministries here and their party committees is like, and how they respond to the demands of life. The scientific potential of higher education establishments should also be used more efficiently. More than 35 percent of the countries' scientific and pedagogical workers of the country, including about half of all doctors of sciences, are concentrated here. But they conduct no more than only 10 percent of the scientific research work. The appropriate departments should elaborate and submit proposals on strengthening the ties between science in the higher education system and production. They should also take into account the interests of training the next generation of scientists. One cannot think of a true scientist having no students, as one cannot think of a living forest lacking undergrowth. What is involved is the future of science — the future of our country. From the first years of their studies, students should be increasingly involved in research work and participate in implementing its results into production. This is the only way to raise true scientists, specialists endowed with creative thinking.

In general, comrades, the turn of science toward the needs of the national economy should be conducted in a more energetic way. But it is equally important for production to turn toward science and to be maximally receptive to scientific and technical achievements. Unfortunately,there are quite a number of scientific discoveries and major inventions which do not find their practical application for years, sometimes for decades. I will refer to some examples.

The effect of limitless wear-resistance, discovered by Soviet scientists 3 decades ago, made it possible to create principally new lubricants which increase the operational life of friction units of machinery many times, and sharply decrease labor costs. This discovery, saving many millions [television broadcast has "billions"] has not so far been used on a wide scale because of the intertia of some leaders of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry and a number of other ministries and departments.

For about 10 years, through the fault of the Ministry of the Automotive Industry and the planning organs, the invention of antifriction bearings which improve the reliability and smooth running of machinery in the most difficult conditions of use, has not been put to mass use. The Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry allowed intolerable delays in the production of high-momentum hydraulic motors which have no equal in the world. These motors make it possible to introduce on a broad scale hydraulic mining equipment and other equipment to bring about an increase of several times in productivity, and to improve labor conditions.

Unfortunately, this list could be continued. Often what lies at the basis of such an attitude to the new are the ambitions of individual groups of scientists, departmental hostility toward the inventions of "others," and lack of interest on the part of production pepole in their introduction. It is no secret either that even the examination of orders for inventions is sometimes dragged out for years and transformed into a road to calvary.

We cannot resolve the tasks which have been set for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress if we fail to find the levers which will give priority only to those research establishments and industrial enterprises whose collectives actively inculcate all that is new and front-ranking, and who seek ways to produce high-quality and effective items.

We have already accumulated a certain amount of experience in improving the economic mechanism in the sphere of science and its interaction with production. It must be carefully analyzed and introduced without delay, closely coordinating material incentives of scientific collectives and individual workers with their real contribution to resolving scientific and technical problems.

All areas of economic management are called upon to change their attitude to the introduction of the new. That also concerns the USSR Gosplan, which should be bolder in going over to start-to-finish planning [skvoznoye planirovaniye] of scientific

and technical progress and also to the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology the restructuring of whose work is proceeding too slowly. The USSR Academy of Sciences and ministries and departments should pay more attention to fundamental research and to the introduction into production of results achieved on this basis. This is the sacred duty of each scientist, engineer, designer, and enterprise manager.

Our **external economic activity** must also be more closely linked to new tasks. The approach to mutually beneficial economic ties must be large-scale and forward-looking. Such a policy has been drawn up by the CEMA member-countries. It presupposes a transition in the economic relations between them from mainly trade links to deeper specialization and cooperation in production, especially in machine building, and to the setting up of joint associations and scientific production complexes.

We have quite a lot of departments and organizations responsible for one sphere or another of external economic ties, but they do not always work in a coordinated way. When proposing the task of actively using external economic activity to speed up our development, we mean effecting, step by step, a reshaping of the structure of foreign trade and giving a more efficient character to exporting and importing.

2. The Resolution of the Food Problem Is a Paramount Task

Comrades! A task that we have to accomplish in the shortest possible time is the complete provision of food to the country. The party's modern agrarian policy, formulated in the decisions of the May 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Food Program, is directed to this end. Since their adoption, quite a lot has been done to develop the material and technical base of agriculture and the branches connected with it. The economic position of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and of interfarm and processing enterprises has grown stronger. The productivity of crop and stock farming has risen.

There is forward movement, but the lagging behind of agriculture is only being overcome slowly. A decisive breakthrough is needed in the agrarian sector so as to noticeably improve the food supply during the period of the 12th 5-Year Plan. It is planned to more than double the rate of growth of agricultural production and to ensure a considerable increase in the per capita consumption of meat, milk, vegetables, and fruit.

Can we achieve this? We can, and we are obliged to do so. For this purpose, the party has devised additional measures directed toward raising the efficiency of all sectors of the agro-industrial complex. The heart of the matter is to change the social and economic situation in the countryside, and to create the conditions for deeper intensification and for guaranteed production. Special emphasis is being laid on economic methods of management and on broadening the independence and raising the responsibility of kolkhozes and sovkhozes for the results of their activities.

In pursuing this policy, efficiency in the use of production potential in the agro-industrial complex is to be raised; energy and resources are to be concentrated on the major sectors which secure the greatest return. It is a matter of primarily raising the fertility of the soil, creating conditions for the stable administration of agriculture. The key to success, as shown by the experience of recent years, lies in the wide-scale use of intensive technologies. They have a huge effect. Just last year, their assimilation allowed an additional 16 million metric tons and a considerable amount of other output to be obtained.

An immediate source for supplementing food stocks is reducing losses of field and farm output during harvesting, transportation, storage, and processing. We have a sizable reserve here. The increase in consumption resources could amount to up to 20 percent, and for certain types of output, up to 30 percent; and the outlays on removing losses would be 2 to 3 times less than those that would have to be made for the additional production of the same volume of output.

The Central Committee and the government have now determined major measures for reducing losses. Agricultural machine building is undergoing rapid development, which will allow kolkhozes and sovkhozes to be sated with highly productive equipment capable of carrying out all field work more efficiently. We have also committed oursleves to additional outlays to strengthen machine building for the foodstuffs sector and the base for processing and storing output.

The party and the state will continue to develop consistently the material and technical base of the agro-industrial complex. But it is also just as clear that the main motive force of progress, its soul, has been, is, and will remain man. Today as never before, agriculture needs people with an interest in working actively, with high professional skill and with an innovative bent. The strongest guarantee of all our successes is constant concern for the agricultural workers' everyday working conditions. Our plans are aimed at this, and it is important that they should be fulfilled rigorously.

All of these are urgent measures, but the program of action is not exhausted by them. In the agrarian sector, completion of transfer to new methods of administration and management remains to be done. The creation of centralized and local unified administration organs for the agro-industrial complex, which is intended to ensure the real and effective integration of agriculture with the branches of industry linked to it, was undoubtedly a principled step.

The creation of this organizational structure is being reinforced by efficient management machinery. Proposals on this score have already been prepared. The basic plan comes down to opening up the scope for economic management methods, significantly extending the independence of collective and state farms, thereby raising their level of interest and responsibility for the final results. In essence, it is a matter of the creative use of the Leninist idea of a tax in kind in conformity with contemporary conditions. It is intended to establish 5-year plans for collective and state farms for the procurement of produce with fixed annual quotas that will not be altered. At the same time, they are being granted the possibility of using, according to their own discretion, everything which has been obtained over the plan, and also a significant part of the planned production in potatoes, fruit and vegetables. The farms can sell it as extra to the state, or sell it in fresh or processed form at the collective farm market or through

cooperative trade, or use it for other needs including personal subsidiary plots. The above-plan sale of grain to the state is being stimulated by the additional allocation of material resources which are in high demand and by other incentive measures.

Republics, krays, and oblasts will in the future be set fixed amounts of produce to supply to the central stocks, and everything which is produced above this amount will be kept for local supply.

It is proposed to implement a transfer of improved planning methods on the basis of progressive norms. The role of financial autonomy will be raised significantly. The experience of the past has shown that ignoring the principles of self-financing [samookupayemost] and infringing on the material interest and responsibility for work results has worsened the financial-economic position of collective and state farms and has led to a significant degree of farm indebtedness. Genuine financial autonomy and the dependence of an enterprise's income on its final results must become the norm for all links in the agro-industrial complex and, first and foremost, for kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The contract and the piece-work system will be widely disseminated at the level to teams, links, and families; means of production, including land, will be allocated to them for the period of the contract.

Great opportunities for initiative and enterprise are being opened up but, this presupposes also the responsibility for the fulfillment of the targets of the Food Program and for the results of the financial and economic activity of sovkhozes and kolkhozes, interfarm enterprises, and organizations. We need to put up a reliable barrier against waste and operating at other peoples' expense and to put an end to the references to so-called "objective circumstances," which for certain kolkhozes and sovkhozes have become a cover for incompetence and occasionally the lack of will to work better. Farms must develop production, increase profits and revenue, and provide work incentives largely by relying on our own resources. (**applause**)[Television broadcast adds the following to the preceding sentence: "And this is still not everything." (murmurs in hall)] The practice of bank credit must be substantially altered so that it provides incentives to raising the level of activity of kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

As you see, comrades, the conditions underlying economic activity in the countryside are changing radically. This demands a substantial change in the style and methods of leadership in the agro-industrial complex. We must renounce incompetent interference in productive activity in the rural sector. We are entitled to expect the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and its local bodies to do everything possible to see that the country receives a substantial return on the measures undertaken. (**applause**)

3. The Management of the Economy Must Be Raised to the Level of the New Demands

Comrades! The resolution of new tasks in the economy is impossible without a profound transformation of the economic mechanism and the creation of an integrated, efficient, and flexible system of management that enables the potential of socialism to be more fully realized.

Economic management, and this is obvious, needs constant improvement. The situation is now such that we cannot limit ourselves to partial improvements. Radical reform is necessary. Its purpose is to subordinate all our production to social demands and to satisfy people's needs, to encourage management to raise efficiency and quality, speed up scientific and technical progress, develop workers' interest in the results of their work and create initiatives of a socialist sense of enterprise in each unit of the national economy and primarily in labor collectives.

The CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo have drafted the Basic Guidelines for transforming the economic mechanism. We are setting the task:

Of raising the effectiveness of the centralized leadership of the economy, strengthening the role of the center in achieving the basic aims of the economic strategy of the party, and in defining the tempo and proportions of development in the economy and its balanced nature. At the same time, the practice of interference by the center in the operational activity of subordinate economic units must be overcome;

Of decisively extending the frontiers of the autonomy of associations and enterprises and raising their responsibility for the achievement of the highest final results: to this end, transferring them onto genuine cost autonomy [khozrasshchet], paying their own way [samookupayemost], and self-financing, placing the level of the collective's income in direct dependence on its work efficiency;

Of going over to economic methods of management at all levels of the national economy, and consequently, restructuring material and technical supply, improving the system of price setting, financing and credit, working out effective measures to encourage cost-cutting;

Of giving management modern organizational structures taking account of the tendency toward concentration and specialization in production and toward coproduction. It is a matter of the creation of complexes of interlinked branches, scientific, and technical inter-sectorial centers, varied forms of economic associations [khozyastvennyye obyedineniya] and territorial-production associations;

Of ensuring the optimal combination of sectorial and territorial management of the economy, the comprehensive economic and social development of republics and regions, and the establishment of rational [television broadcast has "regional"] intersectorial links;

Of implementing the comprehensive democratization of management, raising the role of the workers' collectives in it, strengthening monitoring [kontrol] from below; accountability and public scrutiny [glasnost] in the work of the economic organs.

Undoubtedly, comrades, we are facing the most serious restructuring of the socialist economic mechanism. Its implementation has begun. The direction of work in the agro-industrial complex has already been mentioned. The management of the machine-building complex is being improved. Industry's enterprises are in the main being transfered onto a dual system of management

[dvukhzvennaya systema upravleniya]. New management methods tested experimentally have from this year on become part of the life of enterprises and associations producing half of all industrial output. Their introduction into the sphere of consumer services in construction and transportation has begun. The collective form of organizing and stimulating labor — the economic contract [khozyaystvennyy podryad] — is acquiring ever wider use.

However, we are only at the start of the journey. In order to restructure the economic mechanism under the conditions of our country with its immense, complex economy requires time and energy. There may be difficulties; we cannot guarantee that mistakes will not be made, but the main thing now is to advance purposefully, step-by-step, along the direction we have chosen, augmenting and improving the economic mechanism on the basis of accumulated experience, throwing out everything which is outmoded or which has not justified itself. (**prolonged applause**)

Success will in many ways depend on **the reorganization of the work of central economic bodies, primarily the USSR Gosplan.** It is called on to become the truly scientific-economic headquarters of the country, freed from routine economic questions. We have already begun this work. New bodies for the running of inter-industry complexes are being created. A basic part of their functions — operational management — is being delegated directly to enterprises and associations. Gosplan and other economic departments must concentrate on long-term questions of planning, ensuring the well-proportioned and balanced development of the economy, the carrying out of a structural policy and the creation of economic conditions and incentives in order to achieve the highest possible final results in each and every cell of the national economy. Statistical matters are also in need of serious improvement.

Recently there has been a lessening of the **finance-and-credit effect on the economy**. The financial system does not have sufficient influence on raising the effectiveness of the economy. The bad practice of income redistribution, where the losses sustained by backward enterprises, ministries, and regions are covered by those which are making a profit, has assumed a large scale. This impairs cost-accounting, gives rise to living at other's expense, and leads to endless demands for help from the center. Credit has lost its true purpose.

"All our radical reforms are doomed to failure," noted Lenin, "if we are not successful in our financial policy." Proceeding from this we should fundamentally change the content, organization, and methods of work of the financial and credit bodies. Their major task is not the petty regulation of enterprises' activities, but economic stimulation, and the strengthening of the money circulation and cost-accounting, which is itself the best controller. Everything must be made dependent on the final result. It is obvious that the question of improving the practice of imposing tax on turnover and of payments from profits and other budget revenues, must now be tackled. Their size and payment arrangements should more actively influence the reduction of production costs, the raising of output quality and the acceleration of its marketing.

Prices are to become an active tool of economic and social policy. A planned restructuring of prices as a unified whole is to be carried out in the interests of setting up effective cost-accounting and in accordance with the tasks of increasing the population's real income. Prices must be made more flexible; their level must be coordinated not only with outlay but also with the consumer qualities of the goods, the efficiency of the item and the degree of balance between the goods being produced on the one hand, and social requirements and demand among the poulation on the other hand. It is planned to make broader use of limit and contract prices.

The system of **material and technical supply** is in need of serious improvement. It should be transformed into a flexible economic mechanism helping the national economy to operate rhythmically and steadily. It is an important task of Gossnab to actively facilitate the establishment of direct and long-term links between producers and consumers on a contractual basis and the strengthening of deliveries discipline. Wholesale trade in the means of production should be developed.

In the final analysis, everything we are doing to improve management and planning and to change the organizational structure, is aimed toward creating the conditions for **efficient work by the basic link in the economic system — the association, and the enterprise**.

Analysis shows that the results of the experiments which are being conducted could be considerably better if, on the one hand, they were assisted by the restructuring of the work of sectorial ministries and central economic departments which, as before, are not abandoning their attempts to restrict enterprises' rights, and on the other, if incentives to the growth in efficiency were brought to every sector, team and workplace. Special attention should be paid to this. [The preceding paragraph is not in the television broadcast]

It is finally time to put an end to the practice of the petty tutelage of enterprises on the part of ministries and departments. In their activities, the ministries should concentrate their attention on issues of technological policy, of balance within industries, and of satisfying the requirements of the national economy for high-quality output from their industries. Enterprises and organizations should be given the right to independently market above-plan output, unused raw and manufactured materials, equipment, and so on. Something similar should be made legitimate in the relationship with the population. Is it really sensible to destroy or scrap what could be useful in the household, in construction of housing, garages, or garden sheds?

It would be difficult to overestimate the role of economic **norms**. By knowing in advance the conditions in the planned period, the tasks for the supply of output, the prices, the deductions from profits toward the budget, and the norms for the formation of wage funds and of cost-accounting incentive funds, the collectives of enterprises will be able to draft plans without fear of uncovering reserves, that ensure a higher rate of growth of production and a significant increase in efficiency. In this connection, enterprises must be given the opportunity — following the example of VAZ [Volga motor vehicle works] and the Sumy machine-building works — to earn for themselves the means needed to expand the technically renovate production.

It is especially important to enhance the independence of enterprises and organizations in the sphere of production of consumer goods and services. It is their task to react responsively to the demands of consumers. In this area, we are restructuring the economic mechanism of light industry. The range of tasks decided from above for enterprises of this industry is being sharply restricted. Their plans will be formed primarily on the basis of contracts with trade organizations, which in their turn have to be responsible for how their purchase orders correspond to the real demands of the population. In other words, it is not gross output but quantity, range, and quality of goods the thing that people need; which will be the main thing. **(prolonged applause)** Furthermore, the setting up is planned of interindustrial production and industrial-trading associations for the anufacture and marketing of light industry goods and the expansion of direct-sales trade.

The time has come to solve the following question, too. It is necessary for the size of an enterprise's wage fund to be directly tied to revenues from the sales of its products. This will help to eliminate the production and supply of unwanted, low-quality goods, work for the warehouse, as they say. Incidentally, it is not just in light industry that such an approach should be applied. We can no longer reconcile ourselves to the fact that the workers of enterprises producing unsuitable products are living without particular cares, receiving in full both their wages and bonuses and other benefits. Indeed, why must we pay for labor which produces output noone takes? One way or another, all this turns against us comrades! That should not be forgotten. **(applause)** [The three preceding sentences are not in the television broadcast]

A thoughtful approach is also required by the question of the rational combination of **large, medium, and small enterprises**. As experience shows, it is the small technically well-equipped enterprises which in many cases have the advantage. They are able more swiftly and flexibly to take stock of technological innovations and change in demand, more expeditiously satisfy the requirements for small-batch output sold by the piece and make better use of spare labor resources, particularly in small towns.

And here is another significant aspect of reorganization: the strengthening of the territorial approach in planning and management. This is particularly important for such a vast country as ours — diverse in conditions and having many nationalities. At party conferences and congresses, communist parties of the union republics have rightly criticized the actions of ministries and departments which ignore the conditions and requirements of regions, resulting in imbalances in the economy.

A proposal is forthcoming on this account; evidently it is worth thinking about expanding the rights of republic and local organs, on the example of the agro-industrial complex, in the management of construction, inter-industry production capacities, the social and industrial infrastructure, and many enterprises manufacturing consumer goods. **(applause)**

[In the television broadcast Gorbachev says: "Somehow there wasn't any applause when I said that it is probably time for us to put an end to cases when the collectives of some enterprises manufacture products for the warehouse, live peacefully, and get paid. (applause)

And indeed, who needs those products? And why should we pay for that work, for products which nobody needs? (applause)

One way or another, all this comes back to us, comrades. We must not forget that. But now I see that I have managed to get rounds of applause on this question." (laughter and applause) Gorbachev then returns to his speech. *PRAVDA* omits his interruption and continues, without a paragraph break]

We should give more territorial direction to the activities of the USSR Gosplan and the ministries. The management of the national economy over large economic regions deserves to be studied.

Our plans for the near and distant future are to a considerable extent connected with the development of the natural resources of Siberia and the Far East. This is a matter of great importance, and it needs to be approached as a matter of state, ensuring comprehensiveness to the development of the regions. Special attention needs to be given to the creation of the essential conditions there for fruitful labor, and for the full and rich life of the people. That is the main question today, and the fulfillment of appointed tasks will depend on how it is resolved.

At our congress, we should draw attention to the tasks of the further social and economic development of the Russian non-Chernozem Zone. I will stress two points: the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government have adopted special decisions on the upturn of agriculture in the non-Chernozem Zone, and they must be fulfilled rigorously and to their fullest extent. That is the first point. The second point is that it is essential that local party, soviet, and economic bodies and labor collectives pay much more attention to the efficient use of the potential amassed there, and the allotted resources.

Strengthening of the territorial principle of management demands a rise in the level of economic leadership in each republic, oblast, town, and rayon. Suggestions often come in from localities which have not been properly worked over, dictated not by national economic interests but rather by parasitical interests or else interests of self-esteem, involving the economy in capital-intensive and low-efficiency projects.

Due attention not everywhere is given to raising production efficiency. In Kazakhstan, for instance, one-third less national income comes from a unit of basic production funds than on average in the national economy. In Turkmenia, public sector labor productivity has not risen at all in 15 years.

Thought should be given about how to more closely link the volume of resources allocated for social needs with the efficiency of the regional economy. **(applause)**

Comrades! Every restructuring of the economic mechanism begins, as is known, with a restructuring of awareness, rejection of stereotyped ways of thinking and of practice, and with a clear understanding of the new tasks. This primarily concerns the activity of our economic cadres, the staff of the central links of management. The majority of them have a good idea of the party's undertakings, and actively support them. They boldly set about difficult tasks and seek and find the best ways of resolving

them. Such a position merits all possible support.

But it is hard to understand those who play a waiting game, or who, like Gogol's character, who used to think out all sorts of wild schemes, but in practice do nothing and change nothing.

Personnel who adopt such a position can expect no peace. we are simply not going the same way. Our path has even less in common with those who hope that things will all settle down and go back into the old rut. There will be none of that, comrades. **(strong applause)**

The work to restructure the economy and the economic mechanism must rely on science. Never has this been so important as now. Proceeding from the requirements of life, it is essential to take a fresh look at certain theoretical ideas and concepts. This pertains to such major problems as the interaction between the productive forces and production relations, the socialist property and the economic forms of its implementation, the relations between goods and money, the combination of centralism and independence of economic organizations, and others.

Practice has shown the untenability of notions according to which in socialist conditions **the correspondence between production relations and the nature of productive forces** is, so to speak, ensured automatically. Everything is more complex in life. Yes, socialist production relations open up scope for the development of productive forces. However, they must be constantly perfected for this to be the case — and this means that obsolete methods of management must be spotted in good time and replaced with new ones.

The forms of production relations, the system of management and administration currently in force generally took shape in the conditions of an extensive development of the economy. Gradually they became obsolete; they began to lose their role as incentives, and here and there they turned into impediments. Currently, we are striving to change the thrust of the economic mechanism, to overcome its cost-intensive nature, to target it toward enhancing quality and efficiency, accelerating scientific-technical progress and increasing the role played by the human factor. This is the main thing which, will mean a further perfecting of the socialist production relations and will open up a new scope for the development of productive forces.

Notions that have become established, and in particular prejudices, should not stop us here. For instance, if it is essential and justified to replace some directive indicators with economic norms, then it does not mean a departure from the principles of planned management, but merely changing its ways and means. The same can be said of the necessity to strengthen the independence, initiative and responsibility of associations and enterprises in order to enhance their role as socialist producers of goods.

Unfortunately, an attitude has become widespread in which any change in the economic mechanism is seen to entail a virtual departure from the socialist principles. In connection with this, the following should be stressed: it is socioeconomic acceleration, the strengthening of socialism in practice, that should be one of the highest criteria of perfecting management as well as the entire system of socialist production relations. **(prolonged applause)**

The problem of socialist property as the foundation of our social system, acquires great topical importance. The term socialist property is rich in content, encompassing the multifaceted system of relations concerned with the utilization of the means and the results of production, [the television broadcast adds: "and their distribution"] among people, collectives, industries, regions of the country; a whole range of economic interests. This sophisticated complex of relationships has to be combined in a certain way and to be constantly adjusted — all the more so since it is in flux. If we do not make an in-depth theoretical interpretation of these changes, we shall not be able to find correct practical solutions, and consequently work out in good time measures for the formation of a genuinely solicitous attitude toward socialist property.

It is up to us to enhance the working people's motivation to better utilize and multiply the people's wealth. How is this task to be dealt with? It would be naive to suppose that a sense of ownership could be inculcated with words. Attitudes toward property are formed primarily by those real conditions in which a man finds himself, the opportunities for him to influence the organization of production and the distribution and utilization of the results of labor. The problem therefore comes down to a further deepening of socialist self-management in the economy.

There must be a decisive enhancement of the role of labor collectives in the utilization of public property. It is important to implement rigorously the principle under which enterprises and associations take full responsibility for working without losses. The state bears no responsibility for their obligations. This precisely is the essence of cost-accounting. Nobody can be a master of the country unless he is genuinely a master at his own factory, on his own kolkhoz, in his own workplace or on his own stock-farm. The labor collective bears the obligation of answering for everything, of concerning itself with the accumulation of public wealth. Where this is multiplied, just as where there are losses, should have an effect on the income level of every member of the collective. **(applause)**

And of course we need a reliable guard against any attempts to extract unearned incomes from public property. After all, we still have pilferers who do not consider it a crime to take from an enterprise everything that comes to hand, and indeed all sorts of bribe-takers [mzdoimtsy] and self-seekers who do not disdain to make use of their official positions for their own selfish ends. In relation to this type and the other, we must apply the whole force of the law, the whole force of public condemnation. **(prolonged applause)**

Topical problems in the regulation of socialist property, such as ensuring the absolute priority of nation-wide interests over the interests of industries and regions, also deserve attention. Ministries, departments and territorial bodies do not own the means of production, they are only institutions of state management that are responsible to society for the efficient utilization of the people's property. And we cannot allow narrow departmentalism and parochialism to hinder the realization of the advantages of socialist property. **(applause)**

We are also in favor of total clarity with regard to cooperative property. It has far from exhausted its potential in socialist production and in the better satisfaction of people's requirements. Many collective farms and other cooperative organizations are demonstrating an efficient management of things. And where there is a need, there must be all-around support for forming and developing cooperative enterprises and organizations. They must be widespread in the production and processing of goods; in residential, orchard and kitchen garden construction; and in the area of consumer services and trade.

It is also time to overcome prejudices relating to **money-exchange relationships**, and their undervaluation in the practice of the planned management of the economy. Denying the importance of their active influence on raising people's interest in the efficiency of production weakens cost-accounting and causes other undesirable consequences. And, on the contrary, the healthy functioning of money-exchange relationships on a socialist basis is capable of creating the management conditions in which results will entirely depend on the quality of work of the collective and on the ability and initiative of managers.

Thus, comrades, we are obliged repeatedly to assess the situation that has developed and to decisively reorganize what has become out-of-date and obsolete. A deep understanding of this task by the party aktiv, all cadres, a realization of this by the broad masses, is the necessary condition of success. The starting point in the exceptionally crucial matter of creating a new economic mechanism and the whole management system. **(applause)**

4. Reserves for Economic Growth Must Be Put Into Operation

Comrades! The party has drawn up a strategy for intensive reforms in the national economy and has set about implementing them. They will no doubt make it possible to accelerate the economy's development. But this will require a lot of time and we must achieve an increase in the rate of growth immediately — today. The distinctiveness of 12th 5-Year Plan lies precisely in the fact that the re-equipping of the national economy on a new scientific and technical base is to be carried out along with the simultaneous increase in the rate of progress.

Hence the need for the maximum mobilization of all our reserves. It is more sensible to begin with those things which do not require major expenditure but which give a quick and tangible effect. This is a question of organizational-economic and socio-psychological factors, of the better use of the production potential that has been created, of the raising of the effectiveness of labor incentives, ofstrengthening the level of organization and discipline and of overcoming bad management. We have the reserves at hand. With motivation and good economic management, they promise a high return.

Take a look at the capacities in operation. The fixed production assets in the country have exceeded R1.5 trillion, but they are not being used properly everywhere. This concerns a number of branches: machine building, heavy industry, power generation, and agriculture. [The television broadcast does not include the following to the end of the paragraph] It is particularly perturbing that the most active assets — machinery, equipment, and machine tools — frequently stand idle or do not work at full strength. For instance, in machine building, metal-cutting machine tools are used for only slightly more than one shift. As a whole, because of the underloading of capacities, the country experiences an annual shortfall in industrial output worth billions of rubles. The planning and economic organs and enterprise collectives must do everything possible to ensure that the creative capacities operate at their planned level. In heavy industry alone, this would make it possible to double the output growth rates.

Weak discipline relating to coordinated deliveries also hinders us. Their nonfulfillment in one place reverberates through the whole of the national economy, and reduces the efficiency of the economy. [The television broadcast does not include the following four sentences] Lack of rhythm in production also causes marked damage. It is no secret that many enterprises stand idle more than they work at the beginning of the month. On the other hand at the end of the month, rushed work begins and as a result the quality of articles is poor. We must eliminate this chronic disease. To abide strictly to coordinated deliveries is the duty of labor collectives as well as all sections of management. We shall not be able to achieve what has been projected if we do not bring order to the planning and supplying, do not create the necessary reserves, do not increase at all levels material responsibility for lack of discipline and substandard output.

The reserves in the use of labor resources are also considerable. Some economic leaders complain about an insufficient workforce. I believe that these complaints are without foundation in most cases. Taking a closer look, one can see that there is no workforce shortage. Instead, there is clearly a low level of labor productivity, an insufficient level of organization and inefficient use of incentives. One should also add to this the ill-founded decisions made by planning and economic bodies which permit the creation of excessive numbers of jobs. It is well known that some of our enterprises, design bureaus, and research institutes, while having to cope with the same volume of work as similar organizations abroad, have a significantly larger number of workers than they do.

As soon as enterprises seriously set about improving labor organization and incentives and increase discipline and exactingness, reserves will emerge that no one ever thought existed. The use of the Shchekino method of attestation of jobs is graphic proof of that. The Belorussian railway men, by transferring themselves to a new system of remuneration of labor, and by combining duties have freed about 12,000 workers for other industries over a short period of time.

And naturally more attention should be paid to automation and mechanization of production. In addressing this question, one does not necessarily have to wait until this or that machine or device is designed and manufactured. A lot can be done with one's own powers. The Zaporozhye Oblast, for example, started doing this and in over 3 years has been able to reduce the number of people engaged in manual jobs in industry by 9 percent, and in construction by 15 percent. I believe that other oblasts, krays and republics possess just as much potential. The important thing is to undertake this persistently, with personal interest, remembering the people who have to do manual jobs and the necessity of reducing production cost.

In general, comrades, there is a vast number of reserves in the economy. We have not yet really started using many of them. The psychology of a considerable part of leaders of various levels has been shaped in conditions of abundant resources. Such richness has spoiled many and led to wastefulness. But the situation has long been changed. The former influx in the workforce no longer exists; we have started paying dearly for the extraction and delivery of each metric ton of oil, ore, and coal. These facts must not be disregarded; they should be counted, and one should economize on everything, everywhere, both at work and at home, and not be indifferent to bad managmeent and wastefulness. **(applause)** Even this year we must secure almost the entire growth in the national income through an increase in the productivity of labor and a reduction of the amount of materials and energy consumed in it.

It is not a simple problem. But it is perfectly possible to solve it, especially since the country has accumulated experience in taking a thrifty attitude to resources — but this is being spread slowly. Party, Komsomol and trade union organizations must constantly keep questions of thrift within their field of vision, and support those who save and make rational use of raw materials, electric power, and fuel. A firm procedure must be established whereby overexpenditure of resources would be unprofitable and savings would be tangibly rewarded. **(applause)**

I would like to single out for special attention the problem of **output quality**. It is not enough to say that this is our nearest and major reserve. Without high quality, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress is impossible today. Because of design failings, technological deviations, the use of low quality materials and poor finishing work, we incur great material and moral costs; the accuracy and reliability of machines and instruments suffer, as does the satisfaction of the population's requirements of goods and services. Last year, millions of meters of cloth and pairs of leather shoes and many other consumer goods were returned to the enterprises or reclassified as being of low quality. The damage caused is substantial. Raw materials are squandered, and the labor of hundreds of thousands of workers is rendered worthless. Cardinal measures are essential to rule out the production of defective and low quality goods. [The television broadcast does not contain the following two sentences] For this we must apply the full force of material and administrative influence and make use of our own laws. There is obviously also a need to adopt a special law on output quality.

The CPSU Central Committee recently appealed to party committees, local soviet and management bodies, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and to all the working people, to make the maximum effort for a radical improvement in the quality of output. The task must become the concern of every Communist, every Soviet person, all who respect their labor and who are not indifferent to the honor of their enterprise and industry, to the honor of our motherland. **[prolonged applause]**

A great deal of work lies ahead of us — responsible, intensive work. The first year of a 5-year period is a year of persistent labor, when every leader and labor collective is tried and tested in practice. We are obliged to withstand this test, to draw into production all the reserves of the economy and to strengthen the basis for further transformations.

The diligence and talent of the Soviet people are the decisive conditions for achieving the set goal. Everything depends on the skillful organization and precise orientation of this great force. And here it is difficult to overestimate the role of socialist competition. It should be aimed at raising the quality of work, raising economy and thrift and attaining the targets set for every collective and at every workplace. We are sure that enthusiasm and growing skill have served and will continue to serve as our reliable support. **(applause)**

C. The Basic Guidelines of Social Policy

Comrades, our party has always focused its attention on matters of social policy, on concern for the person.

The social sphere encompasses the interests of classes, social groups, nations and ethnic groups; the relations between society and the individual; and conditions of life and work, health and leisure. **It is precisely in this sphere that the results of economic work are implemented, touching upon the vital interests of the working people, and that the higher aims of socialism are embodied. It is precisely here that the humanistic nature of the socialist system — its qualitative distinction from capitalism — is manifest most extensively and graphically.**

Socialism abolished the main source of social injustice — man's exploitation of man — and inequality with regard to means of production. Social justice permeates every aspect of socialist relations in society. It exists in true popular rule, equality of all citizens before the law and in the real equality of nations, respect for the individual and provision of conditions necessary for its comprehensive development. Social justice lies also in the broad social guarantees, job security, accessibility of education, culture, medical care and housing, care for the elderly, mothers and children. The strict implementation of the principles of social justice is an important condition for the unity of the people, the political steadfastness of society and the dynamism of development.

But life does not stand still, as they say. We must take a new look at the further development of the social sphere and give a full evaluation of its growing significance. We are committed to this by the general course towards socioeconomic acceleration worked out by the party, and the aim of our party's program, which is the achievement of the full welfare and free and comprehensive development of all members of society.

The lessons of the past also demand our increased interest in social questions. The party's Central Committee considers that the central and local bodies have underestimated urgent problems which have arisen in the material base of the sociocultural sphere of the country. As a result an essentially residual principle has evolved of allocating resources for its development. the well-known distortion in favor of technocratic approaches has reduced attention towards the social side of production to everyday life, and to free time, which in turn could not avoid giving rise to a lowering in the interest of the working people in the results of work, a weakening of discipline and other negative phenomena.

For us the ways and means of achieving an improvement in

material and spiritual life and the social consequences it brings are not at all a matter of indifference. If private property attitudes or attitudes of living at someone else's expense, or tendencies towards levelling start to appear, then something must be wrong in the choice of ways and means in our work and this requires correction. In the course of the discussion of the pre-congress documents Communists and non-party members spoke with concern about a weakening of control over the measure of work and consumption about the violation of the requirements of social justice; and about the need to step up the fight against unearned income. It is impossible to avoid seeing the seriousness and significance of these questions. (**applause**)

In short, the level of development attained and the scale of the new tasks create the need for a long-term, profoundly thought-out, integral and strong social policy embracing all aspects of social life. It is essential that there be a decisive turn by the planning and administrative bodies in the central and local economic organizations toward the requirements of the social sphere.

The tasks of social policy are thoroughly described in the drafts of the party program and the basic guidelines. Allow me to dwell on some issues of its implementation:

1. Steadily Improving the People's Well-Being and Consistently Consolidating Social Justice

In the long-term plans for the country's social and economic development it is planned **to raise the people's well-being to a qualitatively new level**. In the forthcoming 15-year period it is intended to double the volume of resources directed toward improving the conditions of life and to increase real per capita income by 1.6-1.8 times. In the 12th 5-Year Plan period, millions of people will benefit from an increase in income. Enormous resources are being directed toward expanding housing construction and social and cultural construction. Such are the plans, but the important thing has to be said: These plans will become a reality only on the condition that every Soviet person works hard and efficiently. Every Soviet person, whatever work he does and whatever post he holds. What we ourselves do determines what we shall have and how we shall live. (**prolonged applause**)

[The television broadcast does not include the following three sentences] Socialist transformations have radically altered the role of labor and the worker and peasant masses' attitude to labor. This is very apparent in the mass development of socialist competition. Relying upon the wealth of experience, the party intends to futher develop these traditions and mold a conscious, creative attitude to labor as the paramount public duty. At meetings for giving reports and holding elections and at conferences, Communists have correctly set forth the the question not only of the improvement of forms of moral encouragement, but also of the decisive improvement of material incentives and the establishment of proper order in this important affair. Attention was justly drawn to the impermissibility of unfairly manipulating the basis on which pay and bonuses are calculated [tak nazyvayemaya "vyvodilovka"]: the payment of unearned money; the payment of undeserved bonuses; the fixing of guaranteed rates of pay unrelated to the labor done, to the contribution by the worker. As far as this is concerned, it has to be said quite definitely that when the labor of a good worker and a negligent worker are remunerated equally, that is a gross violation of our principles. And it is above all an impermissible distortion of the basic principle of socialism: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor," which embodies the essence of social justice of the new social order.

The state's policy in the sphere of wages should also ensure that wages are strictly dependent upon the quantity and quality of labor. Taking this into account, the increase in wages and salaries for workers, and for employees in production industries planned for the 12th 5-Year Plan period will for the first time be carried out basically at the expense of, and within the limits of, funds earned by the enterprises themselves. (**applause**) Such a procedure will more actively promote the acceleration of technical progress and the increased efficiency of production.

In the nonproduction sector, wages and salaries will rise at the expense of centralized sources. Last year phased salary increases began for doctors and other health workers; in 1987 it is planned to complete the increases in wages and salaries for workers in national education and to start increasing salaries for cultural workers. Measures are being implemented to extend the advantages in salaries paid to manual and office workers in a number of regions in eastern Siberia and the Far East.

Many workers' proposals raise the question of the role of social consumption funds in realizing the principle of equity. About one-third of the material benefits and services enjoyed already come from these. We proceed from the position that these are by no means charity funds. They play an important role in ensuring that members of society have equal access to education and culture, in creating equal conditions for upbringing children and in making life easier for those who, due to circumstances, are in need of help on one occasion or constantly. At the same time, these are also incentive funds to encourage highly-qualified and conscientious labor. The party intends to continue to conduct a policy for the further increase and more effective utilization of social funds. In the 12th 5-Year Plan period, they will increase 20-23 percent in volume.

The fight against unearned income is an important function of the socialist state. We must today admit that as a consequence of weakened control, and a number of other causes, groups of people have arisen who have clearly pronounced proprietary aspirations and a scornful attitude toward to public interests.

The working people rightly raise the question of eradicating such manifestations. The Central Committee gives its full backing to these demands. (**prolonged applause**) It has been acknowledged that it is necessary to carry out in the very near future additional measures aimed against parasites, those who misappropriate socialist property, bribe-takers, and against those who have set out along a path alien to the nature of our order, which is one based upon labor. (**applause**) One must also think over proposals about perfecting taxation policy, including progressive taxation on inheritance.

However, in putting an end to unearned income through labor one must not allow a shadow to fall on those who are receiving additional earnings by honest labor. Moreover, the state will

promote the development of various forms of satisfying the population's demands and the supply of services. The proposal concerning the regulation of individual labor activity must be studied attentively. Of course, such types of labor must be fully compatible with the principles of socialist management, and be based either on cooperative principles, or on a contractual basis with socialist enterprises. Society and the population can only gain from this. **(applause)**

All efforts to perfect distributive relations [raspredelitelnye otnosheniya] will have little effect, and the task of raising the people's well-being will be unfulfilled, if we are unable **to saturate the market with various goods and services**. The integrated program for development of production of consumer goods and the services sphere is directed towards this.

In the current 5-year plan, it is necessary to ensure a higher growth rate for the production of consumer goods and retail trade turnover and to considerably improve trade and public catering. Heavy industry sectors have the task of involving all enterprises in the production of industrial goods and ensuring the production of high-quality materials and equipment for the light and food industry. [The television broadcast does not include the preceding paragraph]

It is necessary to set up an up-to-date sphere of services as quickly as possible. This is the task of central organizations. However, to no lesser degree — perhaps even to a greater degree — it is a task for the councils of ministers of union republics and all organs of local power. Decisive measures must be adopted to eliminate the marked imbalance between the demand for services and their supply, primarily those services connected with aiding housework, the provision of services and amenties for, and repair of, flats, tourism and vehicle servicing — the demand for which is growing particularly rapidly. Taking into account proposals by working people, we have begun the broad development of collective horticulrue and market gardening. This is now underway, however this work must be continued once all artificial obstacles have been removed.

The social importance and acute character of the **housing problem** also determines the seriousness of our attitude towards it. To ensure a separate flat or a house for each family by the year 2000 — this is in itself a vast task, but a reasonable one. In the current 5-year plan and in the next one in particular, the scale of housing construction and the modernization of housing funds will increase. It is necessary to encourage as much as possible the construction of cooperative and individually-held housing. Here lie great reserves for the development of housing construction. The right attitude is there when the construction of youth complexes is supported. The interest and energy of young people can also do much in this respect.

Much is being said about the necessity to improve seriously the practice of housing distribution. These questions have to be solved on a broad democratic basis and have to be under constant public control. The proposal on introducing just changes into the system of rent payment — to link it closely with the size and quality of all the living area occupied — deserves attention. The poor quality of housing construction has given rise to much criticism. In this connection it is necessary to work out measures which will stimulate real improvement and also the improvement of planning, of the provision of facilities, and of the architecture of our towns and villages.

Comrades! Qualitative rises in the social sphere are impossible without **profound changes in work content**. The fundamental role here is to be played by the technical modernization of the national economy — mechanization, automation, computerization and robotization — which, and I stress this particularly, must have precise social direction.

In the current 5-year plan, the intention is to sharply reduce the proportion of manual labor, to reduce it to 15-20 percent in the production sphere by the year 2000, and to release millions of people from manual operations. [The television broadcast does not include the preceding sentence] The further transformation of work in conditions of scientific-technical revolution makes high demands on the educational and vocational training of people. As a matter of fact, the task of **creating a uniform system of continuous education** is on the agenda.

The Central Committee has taken important steps in this direction in recent years; the reform of **general education and vocational schools** has started. It must be said that the tempo and the depth of implementation of the measures envisaged by the reform cannot yet satisfy us. The interests of the matter require a more profound study of the scientific bases of present-day production and the principle directions for its intensification. What is particularly urgent is to ensure students computer literacy. In general, it is essential to have a fuller implementation of Lenin's principle of combining education with productive labor, to strive more resolutely to raise efficiency of study, to radically improve training of young people for independent life and work, and to bring up alert builders of the new society.

The party is putting forward the **task of restructuring higher and secondary special education**. Over the past few years the increase specialists graduating has not been accompanied by a due rise in quality of their training. There has arisen a serious lagging behind in the material basis of higher education. We need a considerable improvement in the practice of utilization of engineering and technical staff.

Now, proposals have been prepared which are directed at changing the existing position. The interests of society require a rise in the prestige of engineering. There is to be a review of the structure of higher and secondary special education, and specialists possessing the fundamental theoretical knowledge and practical skills are to be trained at the contemporary standard. Evidently the relationship between higher and secondary special education and industries of the national economy must be built in a new way; there must be an intensification of their mutual interest in raising the level of education and retraining of staff, and a cardinal improvement in the utilization in production.

For every person, and indeed for society, there is nothing more valuable than health. **The maintenance and strengthening of people's health** is a matter of primary importance. We must view health problems from a broad social standpoint. It is primarily defined by conditions of work and life, by the level of well-being, and of course public healthcare has enormous significance. We

must satisfy as soon as possible the population's requirements for high-quality curative, preventative and medicinal help in all areas. All this poses in a new way the question of the material-technical base of the health services and how to tackle many urgent scientific, organizational and cadre problems. Of course, considerable funds will be required, and we shall have to find them.

Someone remarked long ago, and quite rightly, that you can't buy health in a chemist's shop. The main thing is a person's way of life, and in particular, how wisely and usefully he employs his free time. There are opportunities for this, but the organizational side of the matter is suffering badly. Much depends on public initiative and the spontaneous action of the population, but in towns and villages and in labor collectives they quite often expect instructions and set their hopes on assistance from the top. Why do we make poor use of the facilities at our disposal — palaces, clubs, stadia, parks, and many other things? Why do local soviets, trade unions and the Komsomol not tackle these issues as they should? Why don't they spread a movement for more active construction near people's homes of the most rudimentary sports grounds and sports halls? Finally, why don't they organize sports, tourist and other clubs on cooperative principles?

A struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism has developed in the country. In the name of the health of society and of man, we have embarked on decisive measures and waged battle on traditions which have taken centuries to develop and become implanted. But, without laboring under any delusions about what has been achieved, it may be said that drinking binges have been squeezed out of the production process and fewer of them occur now in public places. The situation in the family is improving. Industrial injuries have been reduced and order has been strengthened. But a lot of persistent and varied work must still be done in order to ensure that habits are finally changed. There must be no let up here. (**prolonged applause**)

The task of **conserving nature and rationally utilizing its resources** confronts us acutely. With its planned organization of production and its humanistic world view, socialism is capable of bringing harmony into the mutual relations between society and nature. We are already implementing a system of measures aimed at this, and considerable funds are being allocated. Practical results have been achieved.

Nevertheless, in a number of regions the condition of the natural environment gives cause for concern, and the public and our writers are correct to raise the question of a solicitous attitude to the land, to the resources of the earth, to its lakes and rivers, and to the world of plants and animals.

In the matter of the conservation of nature, it is impermissible to implement the scientific and technical achievements slowly. Outmoded designs are still being included in projects for the construction of new enterprises, and for the reconstruction of old ones. Waste-free and low-waste technological processes are being poorly introduced. In the processing of minerals, by far the greater part of the mass recovered is discarded as waste thereby polluting the environment. Here more decisive measures of an economic, legal, and educational nature are essential. All of us alive today are responsible to our descendants and to history for our natural environment. (**applause**)

2. Improving Social Class and National Relations

Comrades. To a Marxist-Leninist party the analysis of problems of **mutual relations between classes and social groups** is vitally important. Taking careful account of the commonality of their interests, and of their specifics, in its policy, the Communist Party ensures the lasting unity of society, and the successful resolution of its most important and complex tasks.

In Soviet society the place of the vanguard is held by the working class. Thanks to its position in the system of socialist production, its political experience, its high degree of awareness and organization, and its labor and political activity, the working class lends cohesion to our society and plays a leading role in perfecting socialism and communist construction. (**prolonged applause**) Constant concern to strengthen the union of the working class with the peasantry and intelligentsia is the keystone of the policy of the CPSU. It is precisely here that we have our opportunity for a concentration of forces to accelerate the solution of the economic and social tasks which we are now putting forward.

But the unity of socialist society in no way means a leveling of public life. Socialism develops the whole variety of interests, requirements, and abilities of people; it actively supports the independence of public organizations which express that variety. What is more, socialism needs such variety, seeing in it the necessary condition for a further upsurge in people's creative activity, initiative, and competition of brains and talents without which the socialist way of life is altogether unthinkable, without which progress is unthinkable. (**applause**)

In general, the question is this: Unless we can raise production and economic competition, as well as rivalry in the area of science and artistic creation, to a new, incomparably higher level we will also be unable to solve the task of accelerating the country's socioeconomic progress. (**applause**) The development of the socialist way of life means the creation of the maximum potential for the consolidation of collectivism, the cohesion of society, and the increasing of individual activeness. [The television broadcast omits the preceding sentence]

Public attention is attracted to the **problem of strengthening the family**. Our achievements in establishing the new socialist family are unquestionable. Socialism has freed women from economic and social oppression and has created equal opportunities for them to work, receive an education, and take part in public life. The socialist family is built on the basis of full equality of man and woman, and their equal responsibility for the family.

But the forming of the new family is not a simple matter.It is a complex process that has it own problems. In particular, although the number of divorces has decreased over the last few years, it is nevertheless still high. There are also quite a few unhappy families. All this, in the first instance, adversely affects the education of children, as well as the moral condition of men and women, and their working and social activity. Society, of course, cannot be indifferent to these phenomena — a sound family is one of its most important foundations. (**applause**)

Young families need particular care: it is necessary to make young people ready for family life. The system of material assistance for young newlyweds needs to be more thoroughly thought out, especially in the solution of problems of housing and daily amenities. It seems to be advisable to examine the proposals to improve our [the television broadcast has "current"] legal regulations in order to increase the responsibility of citizens for consolidating the family. But that's not all there is to it. The practical work of state and public organizations must be set up in such a way that it can further in every possible way the consolidation of the family and its foundations. The point here is the creation of conditions in which public holidays can be spent together as well as cultural and sports events and family holidays. It is essential to widely celebrate labor dynasties, to support good family traditions, and to educate young people with the experience of older generations. Much useful work can be done here by the mass information media — television, literature, the cinema and the theater.

The prerequisite for solving many problems of the family is the **creation of working and living conditions for women** that would allow motherhood to be combined successfully with an active participation in public and working activity. In the 12th 5-Year Plan, it is projected to make wider use of a partial work day for women, or a reduced work week, and work at home. The duration of paid leave will increase for mothers who are rearing children until they are 1 and 1/2 years old, as well as the number of remunerated days in the event of a child's sickness. Less well-to-do families will begin to receive allowances for children up to age 12. The task is being set in the coming years to fully satisfy the requirements of the population for children's preschool establishments.

Thought should also be given to corresponding organizational forms: Why not resurrect the councils of women in labor collectives formed according to their place of residence, and unite them into a single system headed by the Committee of Soviet Women? (**applause**) Women's councils could seriously influence the solution of the broad circle of social questions in the life of our society.

A great place in our activity should be taken up by the **care for the older generation — veterans of war and work**. The party and the Soviet State will do everything possible to enable the material well-being of pensioners to grow along with the growth of the public wealth. In the 12th 5-Year Plan it is planned to increase the minimum pensions to workers and employees based of age, disability, and cases of the loss of the breadwinner, and also pensions fixed earlier for collective farm workers. But, as we say, man does not live by bread alone. The Central Committee is receiving reports that when retired, many veterans seem to have nothing to do. Obviously, both centrally and locally, within the framework of state and public organizations, additional measures must be adopted that will help veterans to participate more actively in economic and public and political life.We are talking today about more than 50 million Soviet people. (**applause**)

A new step [the television broadcast adds: "in the party's Central Committee's view,"] would be the creation of an all-union public organization of veterans of war and work. (**applause**) It is thought that it could do a lot to draw people with life's experiences into public and political affairs, and primarily into bringing up the younger generation. The work of pensioners will have a good future, both on a cooperative as well as on a personal and family basis, in the area of services, selling, and production of consumer goods and agricultural produce. The new organization can give great help in improving consumer and medical services for pensioners and in arranging their leisure time. As we see it now, it will have quite a few things to do.

Comrades! For the Soviet multinational state the **development of relations among nationalities** has enormous significance. The basis of the solution of the nationalities question in our country was laid down by the Great October Socialist Revolution. Relying on the teachings of Lenin and the gains of socialism, the Communist Party has carried out gigantic transformation work in this area. The results are an outstanding achievement of socialism, and have enriched world civilization. The national yoke and national inequalities in all forms and manifestations have finally been destroyed. The inviolable friendship of peoples, the respect for national culture and national worth of all peoples have been confirmed and have entered the consciousness of tens of millions of people. The Soviet people act as a qualitatively new social and internationalist whole, welded together by unity of economic interests, ideology and political goals.

But our achievements must not create the impression of a lack of problems in national processes [the television broadcast has "interests"]. There are contradictions peculiar to every development. They are not avoidable in this area. The main thing is to see the aspects and facets which constantly arise, to search and provide in time correct replies to the questions that life presents, the more so in that here there are aspirations which have not yet been overcome, and which at times manifest themselves in an unhealthy way, for national exclusiveness and parochialism, and attitudes of living at the expense of others.

In working out the basic guidelines of nationalities policy for the future, it is particularly important to ensure that the contribution of all republics to the development of a united national economic complex corresponds to their increased economic and spiritual potential. The development of cooperation in production, cooperation and mutual assistance among the republics is in the highest interests of our multinational state and of every republic. The task of party organizations and soviets lies in making fuller use of existing opportunities in the common interest to ensure that any manifestations of parochialism are persistently overcome.

We are justly [the television broadcast has "particularly"] proud of the achievements of the Soviet multinational socialist culture. Absorbing the wealth of national forms and colors, it is becoming a unique phenomenon in world culture. But it is important to ensure that a healthy interest in all that is of value, which is present to every national culture does not degenerate into attempts to cut oneself off from the objective process of the cooperation among and drawing together of antional cultures. This must also be borne in mind when, under the guise of national originality, attempts are made in certain works of literature and the arts and in scientific works to present in idyllic tones reactionary-nationalistic and religious remnants which run counter to our ideology — the socialist way of life and a scientific outlook on the world. (**applause**)

A tradition of our party that comes from Lenin is special sharpness and circumspection in everything that concerns the policy on nationalities, everything that touches upon the interests of every nation and ethnic group, and the national feelings of people; and also, at the same time, a principled struggle against manifestations of national narrowmindedness and arrogance, nationalism and chauvinism in whatever clothes they may be dressed. We Communists must steadily follow Lenin's wise advice, make creative use of it in new conditions, and be thoroughly attentive and principled in relations among the nationalities in the name of the further consolidation of fraternal friendship among all the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. **(prolonged applause)**

The social policy which has been drawn up by the party is multifaceted and fully implementable. But success will depend, to a decisive degree, on the social orientation of cadres, on their steadfastness and initiative in the implementation of our plans. Concern for the specific needs and interests of people must be the object of the unwaning attention of party, local soviet and economic organizations, of trade unions and of each manager. If we are able to achieve a decisive turn in the social sphere, then many of today's and tomorrow's problems in our lives will be resolved much more rapidly and effectively than they have been so far. **(stormy, prolonged applause)**

[In the television broadcast, Ligachev announces a 2-hour recess after which Gorbachev will continue delivering the CPSU Central Committee Political Report]

III. The Further Democratization of Society and the Deepening of the Peoples' Socialist Self-Management

Comrades! Vladimir Ilich Lenin saw the main force for the development of the new order in democratization and the living creativity of the working people. He was second to none in his belief in the people and in the concern he showed for raising the political activity and culture of the masses, emphasizing that an illiterate person stands outside politics. Almost 7 decades have passed since that time. The general level of education and culture of Soviet people has been raised beyond measure and their social and political experience has been enriched. That means that there has also been an enormous degree of growth in the opportunities and needs of each citizen to participate in the management of the affairs of society and of state.

Democracy is the healthy and pure air, which is the only sort of air that enables the socialist public organism to lead a full-blooded life. That is why, when we say that we are not yet making full use of the mighty potential of socialism, we also have in mind the fact that **acceleration in the development of society is unthinkable and impossible without further development of socialist democracy and of all its aspects and manifestations.**

Taking this into consideration the party and Central Committee are undertaking steps directed at deepening the democratization of the socialist order. In this we must include the measures to activate the soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol, labor collectives and people's control to strengthen publicity. But still, what has been done and is being done must be evaluated not by the yardsticks of yesterday but according to the scale and complexity of new tasks. These tasks, as is stressed in the new edition of the party program, demand the consistent and steady development of **socialist self-management by the people.**

In a socialist society, especially in today's conditions, government cannot be the privilege of a narrow circle of professionals. Not only from theory, but from our own experience of many years, we know that the socialist order only develops successfully when the people themselves really govern their own affairs, when millions of people participate in political life. And this is indeed self-government of the working people in its Leninist sense. It makes up the essence of Soviet power. Principles of self-government are developed not outside of, but within our statehood, penetrating more and more deeply into every pore of state and public life, enriching the content of democratic centralism, and strengthening its socialist nature.

The party acts as the guiding force and the main guarantor for the development of socialist self-government. Fulfilling its leadership role in society, it is itself the highest form of sociopolitical self-governing organization. By developing intraparty democracy and raising the activity of Communists working in all sectors of the political system, the CPSU is giving the correct guidance to the process of deepening of socialist self-government of the people and that of the expansion of participation of the masses, of every person, in the affairs of the country.

Born of the revolutionary creativity of the working people, **the soviets of people's deputies** have undergone the test of time. They have demonstrated their viability and their immense capabilities in implementing the sovereignty of the people and in uniting and mobilizing the masses. The very logic of the development of socialist democracy goes to show the insistent necessity for the maximum utilization of these potentials for these soviet representative bodies.

One can only welcome the fact that with every passing year, the character of the activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and of the Supreme Soviets of union and autonomous republics are becoming ever more businesslike and efficient. They are called upon to persistently improve legislation, and to monitor how our laws are operating and what real returns are being provided by the work of every state body and leader. It is necessary for the proposals of trades unions, the Komsomol, and other public organizations to be discussed more energetically at sessions of Supreme Soviets, as should reports by administrative bodies and the state of individual sectors of the economy and that of the development of regions.

I would like to draw the special attention of congress delegates to the work of **local soviets.** Today they could and should become one of the most effective links in mobilizing the masses to speed up the socioeconomic development of the country. Receiving the mandate of the voters, the local organs of power take upon themselves the responsibility for all spheres of life on their territory.Even if someone can say: I am not responsible for this question — for the soviet, such a formula is unacceptable. Housing and education, health care and consumer goods, trade in the services sphere, public transportation and environmental protection are their vital concerns. When we still hear a lot of complaints from the working people on these questions, it means

that the soviets lack businesslike attitudes and initiative, and that the control which they exercise is weak. However, making well-founded demands of the soviets, one cannot fail to see another thing. In tackling a number of questions of local significance, their potentials are still limited. Excessive centralization exists in tackling the issues that are far from always clearly visible from the center and can be handled much better on the spot.

That is why we are resolutely directing our course toward enhancing the independence and the level of activity of local organs of power. The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers are now elaborating proposals to this effect. Their essence lies in making each soviet a full and responsible master in everything that concerns meeting the everyday requests and needs of the people, making use of the allocated resources, local potentials and reserves, for coordinating and monitoring of the work of all organizations providing services for the population. In this connection, the question of the relations between soviets and enterprises situated on their territories but subordinate to a higher echelon is to be examined at length; and the interest of the local organs of power in the results of their work is to be enhanced.

Sessions of the soviets should be conducted in a much more efficient way; the analytical and monitoring activities of standing commissions should be intensified; the handling of deputies' requests should be improved. Recommendations of commissions, proposals, and criticisms from deputies should be examined thoroughly and taken into account by executive bodies.

Determining further moves directed at improving the activities of the soviets, we cannot be oblivious of the fact that none of them will bring the necessary results if they are not backed by the initiative of the deputies. The party will continue to see to it that the most worthy people are elected deputies — people who are capable of handling matters of state on a highly efficient level, and to ensure that the composition of soviets is systematically renewed. In this respect, the time is apparently ripe for making necessary corrections in our electoral practice as well. Quite a lot of questions awaiting resolution have accumulated here.

The party has considered and still considers it to be its duty to consolidate the prestige of the elected representatives of the people, and at the same time, to take all possible measures to raise their accountability to the voters. The title of deputy is not just a supplement to one's position, not an honorary privilege, but a great deal of difficult work in a soviet and among the population. And one should do everything in one's power to ensure strict adherence to the law on the status of deputies, and to ensure that each deputy makes use of all of his opportunities to exercise his powers in practice. **(applause)**

The development of the self-government of the people demands the **furtherance of democratic principles in administration**, in the activities of executive committees of the soviets, their staff, and all other state bodies. Expert workers who support the cause are in the majority here. But one should always remember that no apparatus — even if its workers are as wise as Solomon — will achieve anything without reliance on the involved support and participation of the working people in management. The times makes increasingly strict and severe demands in relation to the level of work by the apparatus. And there are quite a few shortcomings here. Frequently one meets with manifestations of narrow departmental and regional interest, lack of responsibility, bureaucratism and attitudes of official indifference toward people. One of the basic causes of these phenomena lies in the weakening of control over the work of the apparatus on the part of working people, the local soviets themselves, and public organizations.

With regard to this, the party sets the task of bringing into action all tools that provide every citizen with a real opportunity to have an effective influence on working out management decisions, checking their implementation, and receiving the necessary information on the work of the apparatus. Subordinated to this must be a system of regular reports by all management bodies to work collectives and meetings of the people. Much here can be done by people's control committees, groups, and posts, and by public inspection on the part of trade unions and by the mass media.

And the elective bodies themselves must be more exacting and stricter in relation to their apparatus. One cannot ignore the fact that apparatus workers who have been in position for a long time often lose a taste for what is new, shut themselves off from people by means of instructions compiled by them and sometimes even slow down the work of elective bodies. It is evidently time we worked out a system that would enable soviets and all public organs to assess senior officials working in their apparatus and make the necessary cadre changes in it after every set of elections. **(applause)**

The time demands increasingly active involvement by **public organizations** in the work of running the country. However, when one views the work of our public organizations [formirovaniye] from this point of view, it becomes clear that initiative on the part of many of them remains insufficient. In a number of cases, they attempt to act primarily through the efforts of their established officials, in a bureaucratic manner, with little reliance on the masses.In other words the popular, creative nature of public organizations, with their capacity for spontaneous action, is far from being fully realized.

Our largest mass organization is the trade unions. On the whole, they do quite a lot to satisfy the requirements of industrial, office and professional workers and collective farmers, to develop competition, strengthen discipline and raise productivity. However, when it comes to defending the legitimate interests of the working people, labor protection and safety techniques, building and operating therapeutic, sports, and club facilities, trade union committees far from always display sufficient militant purposefulness and persistence. It is understandable that such a passive attitude might suit those economic planners who at times, put production before the individual. But for the trade unions, social policy and the interests of the working people should always be to the fore. **(applause)** Indeed this is the fundamental point of their activies. To this end the AUCCTU and other trade union bodies enjoy vast rights and considerable state funds as well as their own funds. And so these must be confidently and broadly utilized, without waiting for someone else to deal, on behalf of the trade unions, with tasks which are their responsibility.

The future is determined to a great extent, comrades, by the kind of young people we are bringing up today. This is a task for the whole party and the whole people, and it is the most important, cardinal task for the **Lenin Komsomol**. Our young people are industrious, given to feats and self-sacrifice, devoted to socialism. But it is the duty of the older generations to do everything they can to see that those replacing them should be even more knowledgeable, capable and better educated so that they might be worthy of bearing into the future the baton of the ideals of justice and freedom bequeathed by the Great October Revolution. **(applause)**

Vladimir Ilich Lenin stressed that communism cannot be learned just from books. Responsibility cannot be inculcated unless one entrusts people with responsible matters. Young people of the eighties are distinguished by a broad range of interests, by educated attitudes and energy. They are, I would say, charged for action and are looking for opportunities to show their mettle in all spheres of public life. And the Komsomol should do everything possible to back up this striving everywhere, in the national economy, in science and technology, in mastering knowledge and culture, in political life and in the defense of their homeland. Moreover, this work, like no other, must have a searching character, be interesting and close to youth, solidly tied to the demands of young people in production, in studies and in everyday life, in the use of free time.

The party, soviet and management organs must, together with the Komsomol, consistently carry out a line for advancing the worthy representatives of youth to leading work in management, production, science and culture. We say, all paths in our country are wide open to young people: this is true. But our constant efforts are needed so that these words do not lose their lustur, and so that the path is always truly broad. **(applause)**

On the whole, the CPSU Central Committee considers it expedient to undertake further steps to raise the role of trade unions and the Komsomol, of creative unions and voluntary societies in the system of socialist self-government of the people. In particular it is planned to expand the circle of questions which the state organs can resolve only with the participation, or with the preliminary agreement of the appropriate trade unions, Komsomol, and women's organizations, and to afford these organizations in a number of cases the right to call a halt to the implementation of administrative decisions.

Our party program aims at the most effective use of all forms of **direct democracy**, the direct participation of the popular masses in the working out, adoption, and carrying out of state and other decisions. A great role belongs here to the **workers' collective**, which acts in all spheres of public life and primarily in the economy. The expansion of numerous rights of enterprises, the introduction of cost-accounting and the strengthening of socialist enterprise acquire a real content only if the degree of activity of the worker himself grows. One cannot be reconciled to the cases one still meets when workers do not know their enterprise's plans, when their proposals are left without due attention and consideration. These facts show that the forces of inertia in some places still call the shots, and hinder the inclusion of industrial, office and professional workers in the business of management and the breeding in them of a feeling that they are the complete bosses of production.

The law adopted 2 years ago on workers' collectives undoubtedly helped the revitalization of their initiative. However it cannot as yet be said that it is yielding the results which we had counted on. This was shown in the review in the CPSU Central Committee of the question of the practice of the application of the law at the Minsk Motor Vehicle Works and other enterprises. The conclusion is unambiguous: It is a cardinal necessity to improve the machinery which will make it possible to turn the democratic principles and norms laid down in the law into daily work practice. Step-by-step we should broaden the range of problems on which the decisions of the labor collective are final, and we should elevate the role of general meetings of factory and office workers and responsibility for the fulfillment of their decisions. Questions also arise regarding the fact that, in the period between general meetings, not only in teams but also at enterprise level, there should function, say, a council of the labor collective, which would comprise representatives of the administration, party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, team councils, factory workers and specialists.

Front-ranking cost-accounting teams are already now becoming the primary cells of management, electing their own leaders. Practice shows the vitality of this area. It reaffirms the fact that in developing democratic principles in production management it is evidently advisable to extend the appointment-by-election process to all team-leaders, and then gradually to certain other categories of the managerial staffs of enterprises — foremen, shift-leaders, section-leaders, shop-floor leaders, sovkhoz section managers. Many years of experience show that it is precisely in this direction that we should be seeking forms of combining centralism and democracy, one-man management and appointment-by-election in running the national economy, which meet present-day conditions. **(applause)**

A subject of constant concern is the strict observance of the democratic principles of management by kolkhozes and other cooperative organizations in fulfilling the requirements of their statutes. Attention to this has somehow slackened recently. Too many people are interfering in the lives of the cooperatives. Party and local soviet bodies are obliged to see to it that kolkhoz cooperative self-management operates smoothly, cutting short any attempts to apply pressure and administrative meddling.

Our constitution envisages the carrying out of nationwide discussion and voting on major questions of the life of the country and the draft decisions of local soviets. We must speed up the preparation of a law on this very important question. We must make even better use of such reliable channels in the development of direct democracy as meetings of citizens, instructions from the electorate, letters from the working people, the press, radio, and television, and all means of drawing out public opinion and a responsive, keen reaction to the needs and the moods of the masses.

The question of **broadening publicity** is a matter of principle for us. And it is a political question, too. Without publicity there is not — and there cannot be — democratism, the political creativity of the masses, and their participation in management. This is, if you like, the guarantee of a state-like attitude to things, imbued

with a sense of responsibility, on the part of tens of millions of workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia, and the starting point of the psychological reorganization of our cadres. **(prolonged applause)**

Sometimes, when publicity is being discuessed, you can hear calls for more caution when talking about our shortcomings, omissions, and difficulties which are inevitable in all work in life. There can only be one answer to that: Lenin's answer. Communists always, and in all circumstances, need the truth. **(prolonged applause)** The experience of the past year has shown how decisively the Soviet people support the uncompromising evaluation of everything that is preventing us from going forward. But those who are used to working in a slipshod way and who engage in eyewash do indeed feel uncomforatable in the light of publicity, when everything being done by the state and society is under the control of the people, and in the sight of the people. **(applause)** Therefore, we have to make publicity a system that is unfailing in its operation. It is necessary in the center, but it is no less necessary — and perhaps even more so — at the places where a man lives and works. He wants to and should know not only what is being decided at the state level, but what decisions are being made by local party and soviet organs, by the management of the enterprises and by the trade unions.

The whole arsenal **of social, political, and personal rights and freedoms of the Soviet man** should serve the tasks of expanding and further developing socialist democracy. The party and state regard it as their foremost duty to deepen these rights and freedoms and strengthen their guarantees. But the essence of socialism is such that the rights of the citizen do not exist, and cannot exist, without his duties, just as there are no duties without rights.

It is essential to raise the activity of the workers, each and every one, in creative work: in overcoming shortcomings, abuses, and any unhealthy phenomena of deviation from the norms of our law and morality. Demcoracy was and is a most important linchpin in **strengthening socialist legality**, and the firm legality is an inalienable part of our democracy.

Recently, quite a lot of work has been carried out to strengthen law and order in all spheres of society. However, efforts in this direction cannot be weaken to any extent. The quality of Soviet laws is to be further improved. Our legislation — civil and labor, financial and administrative, economic and criminal — must be used more vigorously to help in the introduction of methods of economic management, to ensure effective control over work and consumption, and to put the principles of social justice into practice.

We should persistently raise the responsibility of law enforcement and other bodies; strengthen the juridical service in soviets and in the national economy, strengthen the State Board of Arbitration; and perfect the legal education of the population. The use of the full force of Soviet laws in the struggle against crime and other infringements of the law remains a constant task; so that people in any population center can feel the state's concern for their peace and inviolability — so that they will be assured that not one lawbreaker will escape the punishment he deserves. **(applause)**

The democratic principles of justice, the equality of citizens before the laws, and other guarantees securing the defense of the interests of the state and each citizen must be observed in the strictest way. In connection with this, it is essential to decisively expand the role of supervision by public prosecutor's offices, to perfect the work of the courts and the legal profession, and, in the near future, to finish the work on the law, as provided for in the Constitution, on the procedures for appealing to the court against the illegal actions of officials encroaching on the rights of citizens. It is natural that the more actively party and soviet bodies — the trade unions and the Komsomol, labor collectives, volunteer militia groups, all the forces of our society — are included in this work, the more complete the provisions of legality and law and order will be.

Under the conditions of a buildup of subversive activity by the special services of imperialism against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the responsibility borne by **the organs of state security** is growing considerably. Under party guidance and in strict observance of Soviet laws, they are carrying out great work in exposing hostile intrigues, stopping all kinds of subversive acts, and guarding the sacred borders of our homeland. We are convinced that Soviet Chekists and border guards will always rise to the demands made of them, will display vigilance, endurance, and firmness in the struggle against any encroachments on our state and social system. **(prolonged applause)**

Taking into account the complicated international situation, and the growing aggression of reactionary imperialist circles, the CPSU Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo are devoting unremitting attention to **the country's defense capability, the combat might of the Soviet Armed Forces**, and to strengthening military discipline. The Soviet Army and Navy have modern weaponry and technology at their disposal as well as well-trained personnel, and trained command and political cadres wholeheartedly dedicated to the people. They worthily perform their duty in the most complex and at times harsh conditions. **(prolonged applause)** We can say today with full responsibility the USSR's defense might is maintained at a level which allows it to reliably protect the peaceful labor and peaceful lives of Soviet people. **(prolonged applause)**

The party and state have striven, and continue to strive, to ensure that the Soviet serviceman, both soldier and officer, should always feel the concern and attention of society in carrying out his difficult service, and that our Army should be a school for instilling civil responsibility, courage, and patriotism. **(applause)**

It goes without saying, comrades, that here at the congress we are only outlining the overall frameworks, the main contours for perfecting our democracy, state system, and the entire soviet political system. Fulfilment of the decisions of the congress will undoubtedly bring new manifestations of popular initiative and new forms of the sociopolitical creativity of the masses. **(applause)**

IV. Basic Objectives and Directions of the Party's Foreign Policy Strategy

Comrades! The fundamental tasks of the country's economic and social development also determine the CPSU's international strategy. Its main objective is perfectly clear: to provide the

Soviet people with the opportunity to work in conditions of lasting peace and freedom. Such, essentially, is the party's primary program requirement for our foreign policy. In the present situation its fulfillment means, first and foremost, putting a stop to material preparations for a nuclear war.

Having thoroughly evaluated the situation which has developed, the CPSU has advanced an integral program for the complete liquidation of mass-destruction weapons before the end of the present century, a program which is historic in its scope and importance. Its implementation would open up before mankind a principally different phase of development and an opportunity to concentrate on constructive work and nothing else.

As you know, we have addressed our proposals, not just through the traditional diplomatic channels, but also directly to world public opinion, to the peoples, and the time has come to fully understand the grim reality of our times: nuclear weapons conceal within them a tornado which is capable of sweeping the human race from the face of the earth. Our address emphasizes yet again the open, honest, Leninist nature of the CPSU's foreign policy strategy.

Socialism unreservedly rejects war as a means of settling interstate political and economic differences and ideological disputes. Our ideal is a world without weapons and coercion, a world in which every people may choose its path of development and its way of life freely. (**prolonged applause**) This is an expression of the humanism of communist ideology and its moral values. That is why **the struggle against the nuclear danger and the arms race and for maintaining and strengthening universal peace** will remain in the future the main trend of the Party's activity in the world arena.

There is no alternative to this policy. This is even truer in a period of exacerbation in international affairs. Never, perhaps, in the postwar decades has the situation in the world been as explosive, and hence more difficult and unfavorable, as in the first half of the eighties. The rightwing group which has come to power in the United States and its main fellow travellers in NATO have turned sharply away from detente to a military policy of force. They have armed themselves with doctrines which reject neighborliness and cooperation as principles of world development and as a political philosophy in international relations. The Washington administration has remained deaf to our calls to halt the arms race and make the situation more healthy.

Perhaps it isn't worth harping on the past, especially now, when it seems that signs of a change for the better are appearing in Soviet-U.S. relations, and when realistic tendencies are again becoming visible in the acts and mood and leadership of some NATO countries? We consider that it is worth it, since the sharp cooling of the international climate in the first half of the eighties reminded us once again that nothing happens of its own accord. Peace has to be fought for — fought for persistently and purposefully. (**applause**) It is necessary to search for, find, and use even the smallest chance in order to break — while it is still possible — the trend of growing military danger. Realizing this, the CPSU Central Committee again analyzed the nature and scale of the nuclear threat at its April plenum and determined practical steps which could lead to an improvement in the situation. We based ourselves on the following principled considerations:

Firstly: The nature of today's weapons leaves the no state any hope of defending itself with military-technical means alone — let's say, by creating a defense [system], even the most powerful. Ensuring security is more and more taking the form of a political task, and it can only be solved by political means. (**applause**) First and foremost the will to go along the path of disarmament is needed. Security cannot be built forever on a fear of retribution, that is, on the doctrine of "restraint or deterrent." To say nothing of the absurdity and immorality of a situation when the whole world becomes a nuclear hostage, these doctrines encourage the arms race which sooner or later is capable of getting out of control.

Secondly, security, when one speaks of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, can only be universal if one considers international relations as a whole. The highest wisdom is not in only worrying about oneself, or, all the more, about damaging the other side; it is necessary for all to feel that they are equally secure, because the terrors and alarms of the nuclear age give rise to unpredicatbility in policy and specific actions. Taking the critical significance of the time factor into account is becoming very important. The emergence of new weapons systems for mass annihilation is steadfastly reducing the time and restricting the opportunities for adopting political decisions on issues of war and peace in the event of crises.

Thirdly, the United States and its military-industrial machine, which so far does not intend to slow its pace, remain the locomotive of militarism. This must of course be taken into account. But we understand very well that the interests and goals of the military-industrial complex are by no means the same as the interests and goals of the U.S. people and genuine national interests of that great country.

The world is naturally much larger than the United States and its bases of occupation abroad, and in world politics one must not just restrict oneself to relations with just one country, even if it is a very important one. As experience shows, this only encourages the arrogance of strength. But of course, we attach great importance to the state and nature of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Our countries have many points of contact, and there is an objective need to live in peace with each other, to cooperate on an equal and mutually beneficial basis, but only an equal and mutually beneficial one. (**prolonged applause**)

Fourthly, the world is in the middle of a process of rapid change, and nobody is capable of preserving an eternal status quo in it. It consists of many dozens of states, each of which has its own, quite legitimate interests. All of them are without exception faced with a fundamental task; that of mastering the science and the art of behaving with restraint and circumspection in the international arena, living in a civilized way, that is, in conditions of correct international intercourse and cooperation, without turning a blind eye to social, political, and ideological contradictions. But in order to bring this cooperation out into the wide expanses, a comprehensive system of international economic security is also necessary, which would defend every state equally from discrimination, sanctions, and other attributes of imperialist neocolonialist policies. Such a system is capable, alongside

disarmament, of becoming a reliable buttress of international security in general. **(applause)**

In a word, the contemporary world has become too small and fragile for wars and policies of force. It is impossible to save and preserve it unless a resolute and irrevocable break is made in the way of thinking and acting which for centuries was based on the acceptability and admissibility of wars and armed conflict.

This means realizing that it is already impossible to win the arms race, just as it is impossible to win nuclear war itself. Continuing such a race on earth and, still more, spreading it into space will step up the already critically high pace of accumulation and improvement in nuclear weapons. The situation in the world could become such that it would no longer depend on the reason or will of politicians; it will find itself in the captivity of technology and of military and technocratic logic. Consequently, not only nuclear war itself but also preparation for it — that is, the arms race **is an inspiration to military superiority and cannot objectively bring political gain to anyone.**

Further, this means, realizing that the present level of the balance of nuclear potentials between the opposing sides is inordinately high. At present it provides **equal danger** to each of them, but only for the moment. Continuing the nuclear arms race will inevitably increase this equal danger and could take it to such a point that even parity will cease to be a factor in military and political restraint. Therefore, it is essential above all to considerably reduce the level of military confrontation. In our time genuine equal security is guaranteed not only by the highest possible, but by the the lowest possible level of strategic balance from which it is essential to exclude nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction entirely. **(applause)**

Finally, that means recognizing that in the present situation there is no alternative to cooperation and interaction among all states. Thus, objective conditions — and I stress objective — have arisen in which the confrontation between capitalism and socialism can take place **only, and exclusively in the form of peaceful competition and peaceful rivalry.**

For us, peaceful coexistence is a political course which the Soviet Union intends to rigorously keep to in the future. **(prolonged applause)** Ensuring the continuity of its foreign policy strategy, the CPSU will pursue an active international policy which proceeds from the realities of the modern world. Of course, it is not possible to solve the problem of international security with one or two even very intensive peace offensives. Only consistent, systematic, and persistent work can bring success.

Continuity in foreign policy has nothing in common with the simple repetition of what has already been covered, especially in approaching problems which have mounted up. What is needed is particular accuracy in evaluating one's own possibilities, restraint, and the highest responsibility when making decisions. Firmness in upholding principles and positions is necessary, as is tactical flexibility and the readiness for mutually acceptable compromises — the aim being not confrontation but dialogue and mutual understanding.

As you know, we have undertaken a series of unilateral steps. We introduced a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe; we reduced the number of them and suspended all nuclear explosions. In Moscow and abroad conversations have been conducted with the leaders and members of governments of many states in the world. The Soviet-Indian, Soviet-French, and Soviet-U.S. summit meetings have been necessary and useful steps.

The Soviet Union has made active efforts, striving to lend fresh impetus to the talks in Geneva, Stockholm, and Vienna, the aim of which is to curtail the arms race and strengthen trust among states. Talks are always a delicate matter, not a simple one. The main thing here is to move toward a mutually acceptable balance of interests. To transform mass destruction weapons into objects of political machinations is at the very least immoral, and politically it is irresponsible.

Finally, there is our 15 January statement. On the whole, our program is in essence a fusion of the philosophy of shaping the security of the world in the nuclear and space age with a platform of specific actions. The Soviet Union proposes that the problem of disarmament be approached in its entirety, because as far as security is concerned one thing is connected with another. It is not a matter of rigid linkages, or attempts to "give way" in one direction in order to put up barricades in another. The matter is precisely of a plan of specific actions with strictly calculated times. The Soviet Union intends to persistently strive for its realization, viewing this as **the central direction of its foreign policy in the forthcoming years. (applause)**

Soviet military doctrine is being drawn up in full accordance with the letter and spirit of the initiatives put forward. Its orientation is unequivocally one of defense. In the military sphere we intend to act in the future so that no one has any ground for fears, even if they are imagined, for their security. But both we and our allies to an equal degree want to be delivered from the feeling of the threat which has come to hang over us. The Soviet Union has taken upon itself the obligation not to use nuclear weapons first, and will abide by it in the strictest manner. **(applause)** But is no secret that scenarios for a nuclear attack on us do exist. We have no right to not take them into account. The Soviet Union is a highly convinced opponent of nuclear war in any of its forms. Our country stands for taking weapons of mass destruction out of circulation, and restricting military potential within the bounds of reasonable sufficiency. But the nature and level of those bounds continue to be limited by the positions and actions of the United States and its bloc partners. In these conditions, we repeat again and again: **The Soviet Union lays no claim to greater security, but will not settle for less. (prolonged applause)**

I would like to focus attention on the problems of verification [kontrol], to which we attach particular significance. We have frequently declared: The USSR is open to verification [kontrol]. We have an interest in it, no less than others. Comprehensive and very rigorous inspection [proverka] is, perhaps, one of the most important elements in the process of disarmament. The essence of the matter, as we see it, is as follows: **Disarmament without verfication [kontrol] is impossible, but also verification [kontrol] without disarmament is meaningless. (applause)**

And one other fundamental point: We have expressed our

attitude to "star wars" in detail. The United States has already involved many allies in that program. The matter threatens to take on an irreversible character. It is absolutely essential to look for realistic solutions which **would prevent the transfer of the arms race into space** before it is too late. The "star wars" program must not be allowed to be used both as a stimulus for a further arms race and as an obstruction on the road to radical disarmament. Tangible progress in matters pertaining to acute reduction in nuclear capacities could be of serious assistance in overcoming this obstacle. This is why the Soviet Union is ready to make a real step in this direction — to resolve the issue of medium-range missiles in the European zone separately and not in direct connection with problems of strategic weapons and space.

The Soviet program has been enthusiastically taken up by millions of people. The interest of politicians and public figures in it continues to grow. Now times are such that it is difficult to brush it aside. Attempts to cast doubt on the Soviet Union's businesslike interest in accelerating, transferring onto practical lines, the solution of the pressing problem of our time — the abolition of nuclear weapons — are becoming less and less convincing. Nuclear disarmament cannot remain the monopoly of politicians. This is what the whole world is reflecting upon today, for it concerns life itself.

But one should also take into account the reaction of the center of power, which holds the key to the success or failure of the disarmament talks. Of course, the U.S. ruling class, or to be more precise, its most egoistic groups tied up with the military-industrial complex, has different and clearly opposite aims from our own. For them disarmament means a loss in profits, a political risk. For us it means good in all respects: economic, political, moral. **(applause)**

We know our main opponents. We have built up complex and lengthy experience in relations and talks with them. We received a response from President Reagan to our 15 January statement. [The television broadcast adds "the day before yesterday" to the end of the preceding sentence] The U.S. side has begun putting forward its ideas in greater detail at the Geneva talks. Of course we will attentively study everything that the Americans submit on these questions. But since the response was received literally on the eve of the congress' opening, the U.S. Administration, or at least this is what we suppose, is obviously calculating that the world would find out our attitude to the U.S. position from this very rostrum.

I can say right away that the President's letter gives no foundation for any amendment of the appraisals of the world situation laid down in the report prior to receiving the message. It says that the elimination of nuclear weapons is the goal toward which all nuclear powers should strive. In the letter the President agrees in general with some of the Soviet attitudes and intentions on questions of disarmament and security. In other words, the response does express some sort of reassuring opinions and attitudes.

But these positive pronouncements are lost in various kinds of reservations, "provisions" and "conditions" which, in fact, block the solution of fundamental disarmament problems. The reduction of strategic nuclear arsenals is made conditional on our agreement to "star wars" programs and, incidentally, on unilateral reductions in Soviet conventional weaponry. Problems of regional conflicts and bilateral relations are tied in with this as well. The elimination of nuclear weapons in Europe is blocked by references to the British and French positions and by a demand for our defense in the East of the country to be weakened while U.S. military forces in this region would be maintained. A refusal to halt nuclear tests is justified by expatiations to the effect that nuclear weapons serve as a "restraining factor." Here there is a direct contradiction with the aim, corroborated in the letter, that it is necessary to eliminate nuclear weapons. It is precisely in the question of nuclear explosions, the halting of which is demanded by the whole world, tht the unwillingness of the United States and its ruling forces to take the path of nuclear disarmament is displayed in its most naked form.

In a word, without going into details, it is difficult to observe a serious readiness on the part of the U.S. leadership to embark in reality on the solution of the cardinal problems of the elimination of the nuclear threat in the document which we have just received. It seems that Washington — and not just Washington — has come to like nuclear weapons, and is linking them with their plans in the international arena. But nevertheless, whether they want to or not, the politicians in the West will have to answer the question: Are they at all prepared to part with nuclear weapons? **(prolonged applause)**

In accordance with the accord which was reached in Geneva, a new meeting with the U.S. President lies ahead. We see its significance in providing practical results to the very important aspects of limiting and reducing armaments. There are at least two questions on which an accord could be reached — the halting of nuclear tests and the elimination of U.S. and Soviet medium-range missiles in the European zone. Then, incidentally, if there is a readiness to seek agreement, the question of the dates of the meeting will resolve itself. We will ccept any proposal on this score. But there is no point in carrying on idle conversations. We will not remain unconcerned if the Soviet-U.S. dialogue which has arisen and which inspires certain and not unfounded hopes for changes for the better is used for the continuation of the arms race and material preparation for war. The Soviet Union is firmly disposed to justify the hopes of the peoples of our two countries, and of the whole world, which awaits concrete steps, practical actions, real accords [realnyye dogovorennosti] on how to check the arms race from the Soviet and U.S. leaders. We are prepared for this. **(prolonged applause)**

Like any other country, we naturally attach great significance to the security of our borders, both land and sea. We have many and different neighbors; we have no territorial claims against any of them; we threaten none of them; but as life has confirmed more than once, there are more than a few who, without taking account of the national interests of our country or of the states neighboring us, would aspire to aggravate the situation on the borders of the Soviet Union.

For example, counterrevolution and imperialism have turned Afghanistan into a running sore. The Soviet Union supports the efforts of this country which are directed at the defense of its own sovereignty. We would like in the very near future [uzhe v samom blizkom budushchem] to bring the Soviet forces — situated in

Afghanistan at the request of its government — back to their homeland. The time scale [sroki] for their step-by-step withdrawal has been worked out with the Afghan side, as soon as a political settlement has been achieved which will provide for a real end to, and reliably guarantee a non-renewal of, outside armed interference in the internal affairs of the DRA. **(applause)** Our vital national interest lies in unfailingly good and peaceful relations with all states bordering on the Soviet Union. This is an essentially important aim of our foreign policy. **(applause)**

The CPSU considers one of the basic sectors of its foreign policy to be the **European** one. Europe's historic chance, its future, lies in peaceful cooperation of the states of that continent. And it is important, while preserving the capital that has been built up, to move forward from the initial phase of detente to a more stable, mature detente, and then to the creation of reliable security on the basis of the Helsinki process and of radical cuts in nuclear and conventional arms.

The **Asian and Pacific sector** is of growing importance. In that extensive region there are many tangled knots and contradictions. The political situation in individual places is unstable. This is where it is necessary for them to find solutions and paths without delay. Evidently, a beginning should be made with the coordination, and then with the uniting efforts in the interests of a political settlement of troublesome questions, so that, working in parallel on that basis, at least the acuteness of military confrontation in different areas of Asia might be removed and the situation there be stabilized.

And that is all the more urgent, since in Asia and in other continents **the sparks that could lead to war** have not gone out. We are in favor of stepping up a collective search for ways to solve conflict situations in the Near and Middle East, in Central America and southern Africa, and in all the seething points of the planet. This is what the interests of universal security insistently demand.

Crises and conflicts are also fertile ground for international terrorism. Undeclared wars, the export of counterrevolution in all its forms, political assassinations, hostage taking, aircraft hijacking, explosions in streets, airports, or railway stations — this is the loathsome face of terrorism, which those inspiring it try to disguise with various kinds of cynical fabrications. The Soviet Union rejects terrorism in principle, and is preared for effective cooperation with other states in order to root it out. The Soviet Union will resolutely protect its citizens from acts of violence, and will do all it can to protect their lives, honor and dignity. **(prolonged applause)**

Looking back on the past year, one cannot fail to see that the preconditions for an improvement in the international situation are, judging by everything, beginning to form. But the preconditions for a change are not yet the change itself. The arms race continues and the threat of nuclear war remains. However, international reaction is by no means all-powerful. The development of the world revolutionary process and the rise of mass democratic and antiwar movements have considerably expanded and strengthened **the enormous potential of peace, reason, and good will.** This is a powerful counterweight to the aggressive policies of imperialism. **(applause)**

Today the destinies of peace and social progress are tied up more closely than ever with the dynamism of **the economic and political development of the socialist world system**. The requirement for such dynamism is dictated by a concern for the well-being of the peoples. But it is also necessary to the socialist world from the point of view of countering the danger of war. Finally, there is in this a demonstration of the possibilities of the socialist way of life. Both friends and enemies look upon us, the immense, many-faced world of the developing countries looks upon us, seeking its choice, its path. What this choice will be depends to large extent on the successes of socialism, on the credibility of its responses to the challenge of the times.

We are convinced of the ability of socialism to resolve its most complex tasks. Vitally important for this is ever more energetic cooperation, which provides an effect not simply of combination, but also of multiplication of our potentials, and serves as a stimulus for the acceleration of the common progressive movement. This is also reflected in the joint documents of the countries of the socialist community.

Interaction between the ruling communist parties remains **the heart of their political cooperation**. Over the past year, there has hardly been a single fraternal country with whose leadership we have not had meetings and thorough conversations. The actual forms of this cooperation are also being renewed. A new, and probably a key, link in this, the institution of multilateral working meetings of leaders of the fraternal countries, is taking shape. They provide the opportunity for up to the minute and comradely consultations on the whole complex of problems of socialist construction and its domestic and foreign aspects.

In the difficult international situation, the extension of the **Warsaw Pact**, by the unanimous decision of its participants, has acquired great significance. This treaty was, as it were, reborn. Today it would be difficult to imagine world politics as a whole without it. Take the Sofia conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. It became a kind of threshold of the Geneva dialogue.

In the **economy**, an integrated program of scientific-technical progress has been adopted. Its purport is the transition of the CEMA countris to a coordinated scientific-technical policy. [The television broadcast adds: "the center of gravity being switched from mainly commercial links to specialization and cooperation in production particularly on machine building"] In our view, what is required are changes in the activity of the very headquarters of socialist integration — CEMA. But the main thing is to ensure that in the implementation of the program there should be less bureaucratic administration by all kinds of committees and commissions, and more attention paid to economic levers, initiative, and socialist enterprise in involving labor collectives in this process. **(applause)** This will be a profoundly party-like approach, vital to such a unique undertaking. **(applause)**

Energy, businesslike attitudes and initiative — all these qualities meet the requirements of the time, and we will try to see to it that they are spread to the whole system of relations between the fraternal parties. The CPSU attaches increasing importance to lively, broad contact among the citizens of the socialist countries,

people of different professions and different generations. This is a source of mutual spiritual enrichment, a channel of exchange of opinions, ideas, and **experience of socialist construction**. Today it is particularly important, on the basis of the development not of one, but of a number of countries, to analyze the nature of the socialist way of life, to comprehend the processes of perfecting democracy, method of management, and cadres policy. Having a solicitous and respectful attitude to each other's experience, and applying it in practice, is an enormous asset of the socialist world. **(applause)**

Generally speaking, one of the advantages of socialism is its ability to learn — to learn to solve the problems that are posed by life; to learn to avert crisis situations, which our class opponent tries to create and exploit; to learn to oppose attempts to divide the socialist world into layers and set countries against each other; to learn to prevent clashes of interests of different socialist states, to bring about mutual harmony of these interests and to find mutually acceptable solutions to even the most difficult problems.

It appears to us that it is worth looking closely at mutual relations in the world of socialism as a whole. We do not believe that the community [sodruzhestvo] is divided by any kind of barriers from other socialist countries. The CPSU is for honest, frank relations with all communist parties, all states of the world socialist system, and for a comradely exchange of views with them. We strive to see first and foremost what unites the socialist world. **(applause)** That is why Soviet Communists are gladdened by every step on the way toward the rapprochement of all socialist states, by every positive movement in relations between them.

One can speak with satisfaction of a certain improvement in the Soviet Union's relations with its great neighbor, **socialist China**. **(applause)** Differences in approaches remain, particularly toward a series of international problems. There is, however, something else we note: the possibility in many cases of working jointly, of acting together on the basis of principle and equal rights without prejudice to third countries.

There is no need to elucidate the significance of this. The Chinese Communists called the victory by the Soviet Union and the forces of progress in World War II the prologue to the victory of the people's revolution in China. In its turn, the formation of People's China facilitated the strengthening of socialism's world positions and the foiling of many of imperialism's designs and actions in the most difficult postwar years. Thinking of the future, one can say that the reserves for cooperation between the Soviet Union and China are enormous. They are great because such cooperation is in the interests of both countries and because that which is most dear to our peoples — socialism and peace — are indivisible. **(applause)**

The CPSU is an indissoluble part of the international communist movement. We Soviet Communists understand very well that each one of our victories in socialist construction is a victory of the whole movement. Therefore, the CPSU sees as its main international duty the successful progress of our country along the path opened up and laid down by October.

The communist movement in the nonsocialist part of the world remains the main object of political pressure and persecution on the part of bourgeoisie reactionary circles. All the fraternal parties find themselves under the constant fire of anticommunist propaganda, which does not balk at the most shameful ways and means. Many parties act underground, in a situation of real persecution and repression. The Communists cannot take a single step without struggle, which demands personal courage. Allow me, comrades, on behalf of the 27th congress, on behalf of the Soviet Communists, to express feelings of genuine admiration at the selfless struggle of our comrades, and deep fraternal solidarity with them. **(stormy applause)**

In the past few years the communist movement has come up against many new realities, tasks, and problems. Everything points to the fact that it has embarked on a qualititively new stage of development. The international conditions for the work of the Communists are changing quickly and profoundly. A significant reshaping of the social structure of bourgeois society is taking place, including in the composition of the working class. Our friends in the young independent states are faced with difficult problems. The scientific and technological revolution is having a contradictory effect on the material situation and the consciousness of the working people of the nonsocialist world. All this demands an ability to rethink many things, and demands a bold, creative approach to new realities on the basis of the immortal teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The CPSU knows this well from its own experience.

The immense variety in the communist movement and tasks facing it are also a reality. Sometimes this leads to differences and disagreements. The CPSU does not dramatize the fact that there is not always total unanimity among communist parties. Obviously, there cannot be an identity of views on all issues without exception. The communist movement was formed when the working class came onto the international arena as an independent and powerful political force. The parties that make it up, having grown up on their national soil, pursue a common ultimate goal: peace and socialism. That is the main and definitive thing which unifies them. **(applause)**

We consider that the variety of our movement is not a synonym for disjointedness, just as unity has nothing in common with uniformity, with a hierarchy, with interference by some parties in the affairs of others, with an aspiration by any part for a monopoly on truth. The communist movement can and must be strong through its class solidarity, and the equal cooperation of all fraternal parties in the struggle for common goals. That is how the CPSU understands unity, and it intends to foster it in every way. **(applause)**

The tendency for the potential of peace, reason, and good will to become stronger is a steady one, and in principle it is irreversible. Behind it is the desire of people of all peoples, to live in harmony and cooperation. However, one must look at things soberly. The correlation of forces in the struggle against war is forming in the course of an acute and dynamic confrontation between progress and reaction. The solidarity of the CPSU with the forces of national and social liberation, and our line of close cooperation with socialist-oriented countries, with revolutionary-democratic parties, and with the Nonaligned Movement, continue to be invariable.The Soviet public is prepared to continue developing

links with non-communist tendencies and organizations, including religious ones, which come out against war.

It is from this point of view that the CPSU also regards its relations with Social Democrats. It goes without saying that the ideological differences between Communists and Social Democrats are deep; their experience and their achievements are not the same and are not of equal value. However, an unprejudiced familiarization with each other's positions and views is undoubtedly useful both for Communists and Social Democrats; it is primarily useful for stepping up the struggle for peace and international security. **(applause)**

We live in the real world, and we construct our international policy taking into account the specific features of the present stage of international development. A creative analysis of this and our view of the future have brought us to the very considerable conclusion: Today it is more important than ever before to find ways for closer and more productive cooperation with governments, parties, public organizations and movements which are really concerned about the fate of peace on earth and with all peoples in order **to create a comprehensive system of international security. (prolonged applause)**

The fundamental **principles** of such a system could be presented in the following way:

In the military sphere: A renunciation by the nuclear powers of either nuclear or conventional war against each other or against third states; the prevention of an arms race in space, the cessation of all nuclear weapons testing and the total elimination of these weapons, the banning and elimination of chemical weapons, renunciation of the creation [sozdaniye] of other means of mass extermination; a strictly verified [kontroliruyemoye] reduction in the level of the military potentials of states to a reasonable sufficiency; the disbanding of military groupings and, as a step toward this, the renunciation of any expansion of them and of forming any new ones; and a proportional, balanced reduction in military budgets.

In the political sphere: Unconditional respect in international practice for the right of every people to choose the paths and forms of its development; the just political settlement of international crises and regional conflicts; the drawing up of a complex of measures aimed at building confidence between states; the creation of effective guarantees against attacks upon states from outside and the inviolability of their frontiers; and the drawing up of effective methods for preventing international terrorism, including security for the use of international land, air, and sea communications.

In the economic sphere: The exclusion from international practice of all forms of discrimination, and the abrogation of the policy of economic blocades and sanctions where this is not provided for directly by recommendations of the world community; a joint search for ways toward a just settlement of debt problems; the establishment of a new world economic order guaranteeing the equal economic security of all states; the drawing up of principles for the use of part of the funds which will be released as a result of reductions in military budgets for the good of the world community, and first and foremost of the developing countries; and the uniting of efforts in the research and peaceful utilization of space and the solution of the global problems on which the fate of civilization depends.

In the humanitarian sphere: Cooperation in the dissemination of the ideas of peace, disarmament, and international security, and the raising of the level of general objective knowledge about and of the mutual familiarity of peoples with each others' lives, and the strengthening of a spirit of mutual understanding and harmony in relations between them; the eradication of genocide, apartheid, the propagation of fascism and of any other racial, national or religious exclusiveness, as well as discrimination by people on this basis; the expansion, while respecting the laws of every country, of international cooperation in the implementation of the political, social, and personal rights of man; the solution in a humane and positive spirit of questions of the reunification of families; of marriages and of the development of contacts between people and organizations; and the strengthening of the search for new forms of cooperation in the spheres of culture, art, science, education, and medicine.

These bases emerge logically from the provisions of the CPSU Program. They conform totally with our specific foreign policy initiatives. Guided by them, it would be possible for peaceful coexistence to become the supreme and universal principle of interstate relations. **(prolonged applause)** In our view these foundations could become a point of departure, a kind of framework for a direct systematic dialogue of the leaders of the countries of the world community — both bilateral and multilateral.

And if it is a matter of the fate of the world, such a dialogue is particularly important among the permanent members of the Security Council — the five nuclear powers. On them lies the main burden of responsibility for the fate of mankind. I stress, not privilege, not a basis for claims to leadership in world affairs, but responsibility about which no one has the right to forget. Why, then, can their leaders not gather at a round the table and discuss what is possible and necessary to do for strengthening peace? **(applause)**

In our view the whole mechanism which has come into being for negotiations on arms limitations must begin to work to achieve a maximum return. Can one become "accustomed" to the fact that, as if on parallel course, such negotiations continue for years, and at the same time, the buildup in arms is going on?

The Soviet Union devotes much attention to joint examination at international forums, including within the framework of the Helsinki process, of problems and prospects for the international economy, mutual links between disarmament, development, and expansion of trade, and scientific and technical cooperation. In the future, we would consider it an important matter to convene a **worldwide congress on the problems of economic security**, where everything that burdens the world's economic links could be discussed as a whole [v kompelse].

We are also ready to seriously examine any other proposals which move in this direction.

Success in the battle against war must be achieved without fail; success which will become an historic victory of the whole of

mankind — of every man on earth. The CPSU sess the very essence of its foreign policy strategy in active participation in this battle. **(prolonged applause)**

[In the television broadcast, Ligachev then takes the podium and announces a 30-minute recess]

V. The Party

Comrades! The scale and newness of the forthcoming matters make exceptionally high demands on the character of the political, ideological, and organizational activity of the CPSU, which today unites more than 19 million Communists, welded together by the unity of their objectives, will, and discipline. **(prolonged applause)**

The strength of the party lies in the fact that it has a feeling for the time, the pulse beat of life, and always acts in the interests of the masses. Every time the country faces news tasks, the party finds ways to solve them, rearranges and alters the methods of leadership, demonstrating an ability to rise to the historical responsibility for the country's fate and the cause of socialism and communism.

Life itself constantly tests our possibilities. The past year was, in this respect, special. As never before, cohesion in party ranks and unity of the Central Committee has been required. We have understood well that it is no longer possible to avoid problems that have come to a head in the development of society, to be reconciled to irresponsibility, failure to be exacting, and to inertia. Under these conditions, the Politburo, the Central Committee Secretariat, and the Central Committee embarked on resolving cardinal questions dictated by the time. The April Central Committee Plenum became a most important landmark on this route. We told the people honestly about the difficulties and omissions in our work, about the plans for the very near future and the long-term. Today at the congress it is possible to state with confidence that the line of the April Plenum has met with the active support of Communists and millions of working people. **(applause)**

The present stage, the stage of the qualitative transformation of soceity, demands from the party and from each of its organizations new efforts, a principled attitude toward the assessment of one's own activity, a business-like approach, and selflessness. The draft of the edition of the party program and of changes to the CPSU Statutes presented to the congress proceeds from the position that only the party is capable of resolving the task of mobilizing all acceleration factors, a party living by the interests of the people, a party which has a scientifically-based outlook, confirming through its work the confidence that the set goals will be achieved.

The party can successfully resolve new tasks if it itself is in a state of continuous development, free from a complex of "infallibility", and critically appraises the results achieved and clearly sees what has to be done. The scale and complexity of problems, the necessity to fully draw upon the lessons of the past without compromise — it is precisely these which dictate the new demands on cadres, and the whole style of work, its methods and nature.

Comrades, today we must concentrate on the practical organization of things, the placing and education of cadres and the party aktiv, and we must look on the whole of our activity with fresh eyes at all levels and in all echelons. In this connection, I want to recall Lenin's words: "When the situation has changed, and we have to resolve tasks of a different sort, one must not then look back and try resolution by yesterday's method. Don't try it, it won't work." **(applause)**

1. Working in a New Way, Enhancing the Role and Responsibility of the Party Organizations

The essence of reorganizing party work lies in every party organization — from republic to primary — actively fighting for the practical implementation of the lines of the April plenum, and living in an atmosphere of searching and renewal of forms and methods of its activity. This can only be achieved by the efforts of all Communists on the paths of utmost development of democracy within the party itself, and the realization at all levels of the principle of collective leadership, the evolution of criticism and self-criticism, and supervision to ensure a responsible attitude toward the matter at hand. Only then does the spirit of innovation arise, and stagnation and standstill become intolerable.

We are rightly indignant at shortcomings of all sorts and their specific perpetrators — people who neglect their obligations, and who are indifferent to public interests, the careless worker and the idler, the self-seeker and anonymous letter-writers, the bureaucrat and the bribe-taker. However, they live and work in a particular collective, town, village, in a given organization, and not somewhere away from us. So who, if not the collective and the Communists, should be saying at the top of their voice that in our labor society everyone is obliged to work conscientiously, and to live, strictly observing the norms of socialist communal life which are the same for everyone? **(applause)** What and who is hindering this?

It is here that the task of enhancing the role of the party organization in every way looms large. It is not fitting for us Communists to lay blame on others. If the party organization lives a full life, based on principled relations, if Communists are busy with concrete deeds and not just talk on general themes, then success is assured. **(applause)** It is not enough to see shortcomings and faults and to hold them up to shame. Everything must be done to eliminate them. **There is no such thing as the vanguard role of the Communist in general; it is expressed in practical deeds. (applause)**

A party life that is healthy, businesslike, varied in its specific manifestations and concerns, and characterized by openness and publicity for plans and decisions, by humanity, by the modesty of the Communists — that is what is needed today. We Communists are looked to as an example in everything, in work and behavior. We must live and work in such a way that the working man can say: Yes, that's a real Communist. And the brighter and cleaner life in the party's house is, the sooner we will cope with the difficult tasks that are typical for today's time of great change.

Taking the decisions of the April and subsequent plenums of the

Central Committee as guidance, and working boldly and persistently, many party organizations are achieving good results. In determining the paths for onward movement, the CPSU Central Committee relies first and foremost on this experience, and is striving for it to become the property of all. Thus, the decisions on accelerating scientific and technological progress are based to no small degree on the enterprising approach to these issues by the Leningrad party organization, on its experience in drafting programs for intensification, for integration of science and production, and in socioeconomic planning. To the merit of Ukrainian Party organizations is the creation of engineering centers and scientific-technological complexes, and their fruitful work in efficient utilization of secondary resources. The measures to form a unified agro-industrial complex were given a preliminary trial in Georgia and Estonia.

One could cite quite a few examples of a modern approach to matters. A feeling for new and active reconstruction in accordance with changed conditions is characteristic of the Belorussian, Latvian, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Krasnodar, Omsk, Ulyanovsk and other party organizations. This is demonstrated by many report-back and election meetings, conferences and republic congresses. They were notable for the businesslike way in which matters were raised, the interest of Communists in seeking out reserves and ways of acclerating our movement, and exactingness in assessing the work of elected bodies.

But the need for reconstruction was far from being recognized by everyone everywhere. There are still numerous organizations — and this was also confirmed by the report-back and election campaign — where the necessary inclination for serious, self-critical analysis and for extracting practical conclusions has not been felt as yet. Attachment to the old ways, a lack of feeling for the times, an inclination for over-organization, the habit of speaking in an evasive manner and fear of exposing the real state of affairs are showing through.

We will not be able to move ahead by even a single step unless we learn to work in a new way. We will not be able to overcome inertia and conservatism in any of their manifestations if we lose the courage to give a sober evaluation of the situation and see it as it is. In order that irresponsibility may become a thing of the past, we must make it a rule to call a spade a spade, to judge everything openly. It is high time to stop practicing misplaced tact when what is called for is exactingness, honesty and party conscience. No one has the right to forget Lenin's strict warning: "Falsehood and vain boasting mean moral ruin and a sure guarantee of political ruin."

One of the most important preconditions for the healthy life of every party organization is consistent execution of the **principle of collectivity**. It turns out, however, that in some organizations the role of plenums and bureaus as corporate bodies has been depreciated. Joint work on solutions has been replaced by unilateral decrees, which has often led to crude mistakes. Such deviations from the norms of party life were tolerated in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia. A principled evaluation was given at the congress of the republic Communist Party not only of the activity of the former first secretary, but also of those who conspired in lack of principle and servility.

Only strict observation and comprehensive strengthening of the principle of collective leadership can guard against subjectivist fantasies and create the prerequisites for the adoption of well-thought-out, justified decisions. A leader who understands this well has the right to count on long and productive work.

The need to develop criticism and self-criticism, to intensify the struggle against ostentation, is being felt more acutely than ever. We know from the recent past that in those places where criticism and self-criticism die out and where the analysis of the real situation in a true party spirit is replaced by talk of successes, all party activity is deformed; a situation is created of self-satisfaction, a feeling that one can do whatever one wishes with impunity. This leads to the most serious consequences. In the localities and even in the center there turned out to be no small number of officials with an unhealthy attitude to any criticism of themselves and who even persecute people who voice criticism.

The labor successes of Muscovites are well knwon. But one can say with certainty that they would have been considerably greater if the city party organization had not some time ago begun to lose the spirit of self-criticism and healthy dissatisfaction with what had been achieved, had self-satisfaction not manifested itself there. As noted at the city party conference, the leadership of the city party committee over-emphasized successes and avoided resolving complicated problems. It was precisely this that gave rise to self-satisfaction and removed the opportunity for a principled evaluation of serious shortcomings.

Perhaps the negative processes caused by the absence of criticism and self-criticism were manifested in their most acute form in Uzbekistan. The previous leadership of the republic lost contact with life and took it as a rule to speak only about achievements and to keep quiet about shortcomings; and any critical opinions aroused an irritated reaction. Within the republic party organization, discipline became weaker. Favor was shown to people whose only principle was lack of principle, intertest in personal prosperity, and careerism. Toadyism — the unbridled eulogizing of "those of higher rank became widespread." All of this could not but affect matters. There was an acute worsening of the state of affairs in the economy and in the social sphere. All sorts of intrigues, misappropriations and bribery became widespread; there was crude violation of socialist legality.

Intervention by the CPSU Central Committee was needed in order to make the atmosphere more healthy. The republic was afforded compreshensive help. Many sectors of party, state and economic work were reinforced with staff. These measures received the approval and active support of the Communists and working people of Uzbekistan.

Something else is also causing concern. The shortcomings in the republic did not suddenly appear. They built up over the years and grew from small ones into large. Officials from all-union bodies, including officials of the Central Committee, went to Uzbekistan on more than one occasion, and they could not have failed to notice what was going on. The republic's working people wrote indignantly about the improper practices to the central organs, but these signals did not receive due attention.

They did not receive it because at some stage individual repub-

lics, krays, oblasts and cities were removed from the sphere of criticism. In places this led to the appearance of untouchable rayons, collective and state farms, industrial enterprises and so forth. From all this one must draw a hard conclusion: **in the party there are not and must not be organizations outside control, closed to criticism. There are not and must not be leaders protected from party responsibility. (applause)**

This applies in equal measures to ministries and departments and to any institutions and organizations. The CPSU Central Committee considers it essential to have a resolute rise in the role of party committees, of ministries and departments, and to raise the level of their work in restructuring the activity of the management apparatus of industries as a whole. An examination of the reports of the party committees of a number of ministries to the Central Committee shows they are still very timidly and circumspectly using their right of monitoring, and are not acting as catalysts of the new in the struggle against narrow departmentalism, paperwork and red tape.

The party carries out political leadership, and determines the general prospects for development. It forms the main tasks in the socioeconomic and spiritual spheres of life. It engages in selection and distribution of personnel and overall supervision. As for the ways and means of deciding specific economic and sociocultural matters: here there is wide freedom of choice available to every organ of management, to the labor collective and to economic management cadres.

Perfecting the forms and methods of leadership, the party speaks resolutely against the fusion of the functions of party committees with the functions of state and public organs. This is not a simple question. In life it is sometimes difficult to decide on the boundary where the party control — the organization of implementation of the practical task — passes over to become small-minded tutelage and even substitute for state and economic organs. Of course each situation needs a specific approach. And here, a lot is defined by the political standards and maturity of leaders. The party will strive to construct its work in such a way that everybody at the section entrusted to him acts professionally, energetically, and without being afraid to take responsibility upon himself. Such is the principled, Leninist solution of this question, by which we have to be guided strictly at all levels of party activity.

2. For the Pure and Honest Nature of the Party Member and a Principled Cadres Policy

Comrades! The more consistently we draw the vast creative potential of the party into the cause of accelerating the development of Soviet society, the more apparent becomes the deep, well-founded character of the conclusion of the April plenum on **the necessity of raising the initiative and responsibility of cadres and the importance of a tireless struggle for the pure and honest image of the party member**.

The Communist Party is both the political and moral vanguard. In the course of the past 5 years its membership increased by 1.6 million people. Its roots in the working class and in all strata of society are becoming stronger and stronger. Out of every 100 new party members there are 59 workers, 26 specialists from various branches of the national economy, and four-fifths of all those recruited are youth.

On the whole the formation of the party composition and the increase of its membership is being carried out in accordance with the set norms, but as with any living matter, acceptance into the party requires further perfection. Some organizations accelerate the increase of party membership at the expense of its quality, and do not show exactingness towards those joining. Our task is to attend tirelessly to the purity of party ranks, to protect party reliability against casual people who join for careerist or any other selfish reasons.

It is also our duty to perfect further the ideological education of Communists, to strengthen the demand for the observation of party discipline, and the strict observation of requirements set by the rules. In each party organization, Communists themselves have to create the atmosphere of high demands which will exclude any possibility of contempt for party norms by anyone. In this connection it is necessary to support and disseminate the experience of many party organziations where regular reports-back by Communists before their comrades take place, where party character assessments are examined and approved at party meetings. This assists the strengthening of responsibility of all members of the party without exception before their organization.

We bear considerable costs because some comrades behave unworthily and commit shameful acts. Lately a number of leading workers have been released from their offices and expelled from the party for abuses of various kinds. Some of them have had criminal proceedings instigated aginst them. Events of this kind have taken place in Alma-Ata, Chimkent and some other oblasts and republics, as well as in ministries and departments. Such phenomena as a rule are engendered by violation of the party principles for the selection and education of the cadres, and control of their activity. Henceforth the party will decisively clear its ranks of all those who compromise the noble title of communist. **(applause)**

I would like to speak once more at our congress about a **business-like attitude**. This is a fundamental issue. Any discord between what is said and what is done detracts from the main matter — the authority of the party policy — and cannot be tolerated in any form. The party of Communists is a party of unity between words and deeds. This should be remembered by every leader and every Communist. It is precisely by the unity of words and deeds that the Soviet people will judge our work.

Important decisions have been made and interesting ideas and proposals have been voiced, both in the center and locally, since the April plenum. But if we analyze what, of all those things, has been put into practice, has been reflected in deeds, it turns out that side by side with undoubted advances a good deal is still stuck on its way to becoming practice. No reorganization, no breakthough can take place unless every Communist — especially a leader — understands the enormous significance of practical deeds, which are the only things able to move life onward and to raise labor efficiency. Organizational work cannot be changed into phrasemongering and shop talk at numerous meetings and conferences.

One more thing: The party should declare a resolute and merciless war on bureaucracy. Vladimir Ilich Lenin considered the struggle against it to be particularly important at critical moments, at the time of the changing over from one system of administration to another, when the maximum businesslike attitude, speed and energy is required. Today bureaucracy is a serious obstacle on the path to solving our main task — the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the country and the fundamental reorganization of the management mechanism linked with it. This question cannot fail to cause anxiety; it requires conclusions. It is important here to bear in mind that bureaucratic distortions manifest themsleves most strongly wherever a businesslike attitude, publicity and control from below are absent, and where accountability for assigned work is reduced.

Comrades! Many new, energetic workers of the modern mold have recently been put forward into responsible posts. The party will continue to pursue the line of combining experienced and young cadres in the leadership. Women are being more actively brought forward into leading positions. There are now more of them in party and soviet organs. The criteria for all advancements and transfers are one — the political and businesslike qualities, abilities and real achievements of a worker and his attitude to people. I consider it essential to stress this because some people have lost the party tradition of constant communication with rank and file Communists, with the workers — and this undermines the very essence of party work.

A leader who is closely linked to the masses, ideologically staunch, who thinks with initiative and is active — that is the kind of person needed today at the head of every party organization. **(applause)** There is no need to remind you that it is with the figure of the leader, above all the party leader, that people connect all pluses and minuses of the specific, real lives they are living. It is by the secretary of the rayon committee, the city committee or oblast committee of the party that the ordinary worker judges the party committee and the party as a whole.

Cadres who are devoted to the cause of the party, who are in the vanguard of the struggle for the implementation of the political line, are our main and most valuable asset. The party aktiv and all Communists must master the great traditions of Bolshevism, and must be educated in these traditions. **(applause)** One must strive toward adherence to principle and party comradeship becoming immutable norms in the party, and in every one of its links. Only such a position can ensure the party's moral health, and that is a guarantee of the health of the whole of society.

3. Strengthening the Link Between Ideology and Life and Enriching Man's Spiritual World

Comrades! "One cannot be an ideological leader without theoretical work, just as one cannot be one without directing such work according to what the situation demands, without propagandizing the results of this theory." This is what Lenin taught us.

Marxism-Leninism is a very great revolutionary world view; it substantiated the most humane aim mankind has ever set for itself — the creation on earth of a just social order. It shows the way to a scientific study of social development, as a single, law-governed process, in all its enormously varied aspects and contradictoriness; it teaches us to correctly understanding the nature and interaction of economic and political forces, to choose correct directions, forms, and methods of struggle, and to feel confidence at sharp turning points in history.

In all of its activities, the CPSU takes as a premise that fidelity to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine lies in its creative development, on the basis of accumulated experience. At the focus of the party's theoretical thinking today is a complex set of problems ensuing from the present-day character of great change in development of our society and the world as a whole. The multifaceted task of acceleration and its interlinked political, economic, scientific-technological, social, cultural-spiritual and psychological aspects require further profound and comprehensive analysis. We are feeling a real need for serious philosophical generalization, for well-founded economic and social forecasting, and for profound historical research.

One cannot escape the fact that our philosophical and economic front, and social sciences as a whole, are in a state of what I would call a certain remoteness from life's requirements. On top of this, our planning and economic management bodies and other departments do not display due interest in implementing the rational proposals of social scientists.

The times demand posing the question of the broad involvement of social sciences in the concrete needs of practice, and it requires that social scientists should react responsively to the changes taking place in life, keep in sight new phenomena, and draw conclusions which are capable of giving practice the correct bearings. The only scientific concepts which are viable are those which come from practice and return to it enriched by profound generalizations and effective recommendations. Scholasticism, dogmatism and slavish adherence to doctrine have always been fetters for true growth of knowledge. They lead to stagnation of thought, and like a blank wall they separate science from life and hamper its development. Truth is gained not from declarations and injunctions. Truth is born in scientific discussions and disputes and tested in action. The Central Committee is in favor of a path of development of our social sciences which makes it possible to achieve weighty theoretical and practical results. **(applause)**

The atmosphere of constructiveness that the party is asserting in all spheres of life is especially fruitful for the social sciences. We hope it will be actively used by our economists and philosophers, our lawyers and sociologists, our historians and literary researchers for a bold and enterprising formulation of new problems and for creative theoretical work on them.

But the ideas themselves, however attractive they may be, still do not automatically form an integrated and active world view unless they are harnessed to the sociopolitical experience of the masses. **Socialist ideology draws its energy and effectiveness from the interconnection between progressive ideas and the practice of the new society's construction.**

The new draft CPSU Program defines the main guidelines for the party's ideological activity. These guidelines have been dis-

cussed at Central Committee plenums and at the all-union scientific-practical conference which was held in December 1984. I shall dwell on just some of them.

The most essential thing that the full force of party influence must be focused on today is the attainment of an understanding by every person of the acute nature of the moment we are living through, of the fact that it represents a turning-point. All our plans will remain hanging in mid-air if people are left indifferent and if we fail to arouse labor and public activity on the part of the masses, their energy and initiative. **Switching society to new tasks and directing the creative potential of the people and of every labor collective to the performance of these tasks is the primary condition for accelerating the country's social and economic development. (applause)**

It is an indisputable fact that a wise and true word has an enormously influential force. But its significance is multiplied a hundred fold if it is combined with political, economic, and social steps. This is why the only way one can eliminate wearisomely edifying sentiments is to fill slogans and exhortations with the living breath of life.

Divorcing words from a foundation that is anchored to the ground seriously devalues ideological efforts. However many lectures we give about sensitivity, criticizing callousness and bureaucratism, they will evaporate into thin air if you meet with coarseness in offices, in the street, and in the shops. However many talks we arrange about standards of good behavior, they will be of no use if they are not supported by the practical struggle for high standards in production, in communal living, and in human relations. However many articles we may write about social justice, good order, and discipline they will be fruitless if unaccompanied by energetic actions on the part of the labor collective or the consistent application of the law.

People must constantly see and feel the great truth of our ideology and the principled nature of our policies. Labor and the distribution of rewards must be organized in such a way, the laws and principles of socialist society must be so scrupulously observed, that every Soviet person should have a firm belief in our ideals and values. (**prolonged applause**) Housing, the supply of foodstuffs, the quality of consumer goods, the level of health care — all of this has the most direct effect on people's consciousness and moods. It is precisely from these positions that we must approach the whole complex of questions connected with the educative activity of party, local soviet, and public organizations.

In the struggle to speed up social and economic development, extremely favorable social conditions are being created for raising the effectiveness of ideological work. But one should not count on ideological-political, labor, and moral education thus becoming simpler. One should constantly bear in mind the fact that the situation today, no matter how favorable it is, still contains its contradictions and difficulties and no underestimations should be allowed to occur in the assessments.

The development of public awareness is always a complicated process but the unique features of the current stage have made many urgent problems particularly acute. In the first place, the very scale of the task of accelerating things shapes the social atmosphere, its nature, and its specific features. Not everyone has yet proved to be ready to understand and accept what is going on. Secondly, and it is important to stress this, the deceleration in social and economic development was a consequence of serious blunders not only in the sphere of economic leadership but also in ideological work.

It cannot be said that only a few words have been spoken on this subject, and these words have been true. But, in practice, purposeful educative work has frequently been replaced by far-fetched campaigns which distance propaganda from life, and this had a negative effect on the social atmosphere. The acute nature of contradictions in life was often ignored; realism was lacking in evaluating the true state of affairs in the economy and in the social sphere and other spheres, as well. The straticatons laid down by the past continue to have an effect. They make themselves known; they reveal themselves in people's consciousness, their actions and conduct. A lifestyle cannot be changed overnight. It is even more difficult to overcome inertia of thought. Energetic efforts are essential here.

Policy produces the required results when it is constructed on a precise assessment of the interests of the classes, social groups, and individuals. And if this is true from the point of view of running society then it is even more so at the ideological and educational level. Society comprises specific people; they have specific interests, joys, and dramas, their own views of life with its real and imaginary values.

In this connection I would like to dwell on **individual work as one of the most important forms of education**. It cannot be said that no attention is paid to this; but in the ideological sphere it is seriously hindered by the usual wholesale approach. The figures here are truly impressive: tens and hundreds of thousands of propagandists, political information and agitation workers, circles and seminars, print runs of millions of newspapers and magazines, audiences of millions at lectures. All that is well. But does the living man not disappear amid such shimmer of figures and "overviews"? Do the ideological statistics not screen from us, on the one hand, devoted toilers, deserving great public recognition, and, on the other, bearers of antisocialist ethics? That is why it is so important to be specific to the utmost in the cause of education. An essential peculiarity of ideological work also consists in the fact that it is taking place in a climate of sharp confrontation between the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. Bourgeois ideology is an ideology of servicing capital, of the profits of monopolies, of adventurism and social revenge; an ideology of society without a future. Its purposes are clear — to use any methods to embellish capitalism, to cover up its anti-human nature and its injustice, to impose its standards of life and culture; to blacken socialism in every way, and to distort the sense of such values as democracy, liberty, equality, and social progress.

The "psychological war" unleashed by imperialism cannot be qualified in any other way than as a specific form of aggression and of information imperialism which flouts peoples' sovereignty, history, and culture. This is also a direct policy of politico-psychological [television broadcast has "policy of psychological"] preparation for war. This naturally has nothing in common with

true comparison of views or free exchange of ideas, which are spoken of hypocritically in the West. It is impossible to evaluate differently the actions whereby people are taught to view any society displeasing imperialism through the notch of a gun sight.

Of course, there is no basis for overestimating the effect of bourgeois propaganda. Soviet people are sufficiently aware of the true value of various kinds of prophets and prophecies; they are well able to sort out the true aims of the subversive actions of ruling monopolistic forces. But we have no right to forget that the "psychological war" is a struggle for people's minds, for their world understanding and their orientation in life, society, and culture. **(applause)** We have to deal with an experienced class enemy, whose political experience is varied and measured in centuries of time. They have created a gigantic machine for mass propaganda equipped with modern technical facilities that has a vast apparatus of well-drilled haters of socialism at its disposal.

The versatility and lack of principle of the bourgeois propagandists should be countered by the high professionalism of our ideological workers, the morality of socialist society, its culture and openness of information, and the bold and creative character of our propaganda. We also need to be aggressive as regards exposing ideological subversion and putting over truthful information about the real achievements of socialism and about the socialist way of life. **(applause)**

We have built a world without oppression and exploitation and have created a society of social cohesion and confidence. We are patriots to our motherland, and will continue to defend it by every means and to multiply the riches of the fatherland and strengthen its economic might and moral strength. **(prolonged applause)** The deep roots of Soviet patriotism are in the social order and in our humanist ideology. True patriotism lies in an active civic stand. Socialism is a society of lofty morality. One cannot be an ideological person without being honest, conscientious, decent, and demanding of oneself. Our education will be all the richer the more energetically the ideals, principles, and values of the new society are asserted. The struggle for purity of life is the most effective means of enhancing the effectiveness of ideological education work, of increasing the social return from it, and of guaranteeing that unhealthy phenomena do not arise.

Briefly, comrades. Whichever sphere of ideological work we take everything must proceed from life. Stagnation is simply intolerable in such a vital, dynamic and multifaceted matter as information, propaganda, artistic creativity and amateur artistic activity, the work of clubs and theatres, libraries and museums — the whole sphere of ideological-political, labor, moral, and atheist education.

The present-day is full of dynamism and changes, and **the role of the mass information media** increases significantly. The time that has passed since the Central Committee's April Plenum has been a serious test for all party journalism. Editorial collectives have boldly come to grips with complex questions which are new in many ways. Life itself, with its achievements and contradictions, has begun to pulsate on the pages of newspapers and magazines and in television programs. The degree of analysis and civic spirit has become greater, as has the degree of acuteness in setting forth problems and specific criticism of shortcomings and omissions. Many constructive proposals have been expressed on topical economic, social, and ideological questions.

The effectiveness of the mass information media is now acquiring even greater significance. The Central Committee sees them as instruments of creativity, mouthpieces for the all-party point of view, which are incompatible with bureaucracy and parochialism. And everything which is dictated by principled considerations, by the interests of improving matters, will continue to be supported by the party. The work of the mass information media is all the more fruitful the greater the amount of thoughtfulness and drive it has and the less it chases the incidental and the sensational. **(applause)**

In our country television and radio are rapidly developing and acquiring modern technology. They have take a firm position in our lives as all-embracing media of information and propaganda and for the affirmation of our moral values and our culture. Shifts for the better have become clearly visible here. Television and radio broadcasts have become more varied and more lively. A desire can be seen to overcome the cliches which have come about and to take fuller account of the variety of interests among viewers and listeners.

But can we say that our information and propaganda media are realizing their potential to the fullest extent? Not yet! There is still a great deal of dullness. Inertia has not been overcome and blindness to the new has not been excluded. People are feeling dissatisfied over the insufficient efforts in covering events, over the superficial show of the struggle for those advance things which are coming into practice. The low level of certain literary productions, television programs and films, suffering from an absence not only of ideological and aesthetic clarity but also of elementary taste, give cause for justified censure. There is a need for a serious improvement in making films and in the book and magazine publishing business as well as in the leadership of the Ministry of Culture, the State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting, the State Committee for Cinematography, the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade of the USSR, and the news agencies. Energetic conclusions must be drawn from the numerous critical remarks of the public. The shortcomings are common, but the responsibility is specific. The ideological cadres must constantly keep this in mind.

The party sees its main task in **cultural policy** as opening up the broadest scope for people's capacities to be displayed, to make their life spiritually rich and multifaceted. In attempting to achieve radical changes for the better in this sphere it is also important to construct all cultural and educational work such that it more and more fully satisfies the spiritual demands of the people, so that it takes account of their interests.

The moral health of a society and the spiritual climate in which people live, are to no small degree determined by the condition of **literature and the arts**. Our literature, which reflects the birth of a new world, also actively participated in its establishment by shaping the person of this world — a patriot of the motherland and a genuine internationalist. In that way it has correctly chosen its place and its role in the people's cause. But this is also the criterion with which the people and the party approach the

assessment of the work of writers and artists — in fact, with which literature itself and Soviet art approaches its own tasks.

When the public's need arises for interpretation of the times, in particular times of change, those times always put forward people for whom this becomes an internal need. It is in such times that we are now living. Neither the party nor the people have and need for showy long-windedness, the shallow minded dredging up of petty, everyday details, short-term interest, and narrow-mindedness. Society expects from writers artistic discoveries, the truth about life, which has always been the essence of real art.

But truth is not an abstract concept; it is specific: It is to be found in the deeds of the people and the contradictions of the development of society; in the heroism of the workaday world; in victories and failures — that is in life itself; in all its multifacetedness, dramatism, and grandeur. Only a literature that is ideologically committed, artistic, and of the people can educate people to be honest and strong in spirit and capable of taking on the burden of their times. **(applause)**

Criticism and self-criticism are a natural principle of the vitality of our society. Without them there is no development. It is time for literary and artistic criticism to shake itself out of complacency and deference to rank, which is eating away at healthy morality, keeping in mind that criticism is a public affair and not a service pandering to authors' conceit and ambitions. **(applause)**

Our creative unions have rich traditions and a significant role in the life of the arts and, indeed, of society as a whole. But here, too, changes are needed. The chief measure of the results of their work is not resolutions and meetings but talented, original, socially-needed books, films, shows, pictures, and musical compositions capable of enriching the people's spiritual life. **(applause)** In this connection, public suggestions that **higher demands be placed on works submitted for lofty prizes** are deserving of serious attention. **(applause)**

To provide guidance for spiritual and cultural life is no easy matter; it requires tact, an understanding of the nature of creative activity, an unfailing love for literature and art, and respect for talent. Here much depends on knowing how to publicize the party's policy on culture and to implement it, on fairness in making evaluations and on benevolent attitudes where the creativity and strivings of a writer, composer, or artist are concerned.

Ideological work is creative work that knows no universal means appropriate to all cases that arise in life. It calls for a constant search for ways of keeping pace with life. Today, it is especially important to form a deep understandng of the character of contemporary tasks, a firm scientific world view, a principled attitude, a high level of culture, and a responsible attitude to whatever affairs one may be engaged in. **Enhancing the level of society's maturity and building communism means unservingly enhancing the maturity of one's consciousness and enriching man's spiritual world. (prolonged applause)**

The party thinks highly of the knowledge, experience, and selflessness of its ideological aktiv. Here at our congress, we must say the warmest of words to the millions of party members who have been carrying out or are still carrying out with honor some of the party's most responsible commissions in one of the chief areas of its activity. **(applause)** In the future, we must continue to actively promote to the ideological workshop those comrades who prove their convictions by personal example, who are capable of analytical thought, and who know how to listen to and talk with people — in general, people who are well-prepared both theoretically and professionally, and who are capable of successfully solving the new tasks of our time.

VI. On the Results of the Discussion of the New Edition of the Program and the Changes to the Party Statutes

Comrades! The CPSU Central Committee's Political Report has reviewed the party's program goals, its current economic and political strategy, problems of perfecting intra-party life and style and methods of work, and all that constitutes the essence of the drafts of the new edition of the program and of the changes in the CPSU Statutes. For this reason there is no need to set forth their content in detail. I shall dwell only on certain fundamental points, taking into account the results of the discussion throughout the party and people of the drafts of these documents.

What are these results? First and foremost, there is broad approval for the conclusions and provisions of the CPSU Program and Statutes. Communists and the Soviet people support the party's course towards accelerating the county's social and economic development, and the clear orientation of its program toward the communist future and toward the consolidation of peace on earth. They stress that the new historic tasks are founded on a profound analysis of the problems of social development that have come to a head. **(prolonged applause)**

The new edition of the program has also evoked a lively response abroad. The progressive public notes its deeply humanistic character, its orientation toward man, its passionate appeal for mutual understanding among peoples and for the guaranteeing of humanity's peaceful future. Our friends abroad are inspired by the CPSU's unshakable striving for lasting comradely relations and diverse cooperation with all the states of the world socialist system, and by the resolute support for the anti-imperialist struggle of peoples, for peace, democracy, social progress, for the consolidation of independence. Many sober-minded figures from the bourgeois camp note the peace-loving orientation of our program, and the CPSU's course toward disarmament and the establishment of normal healthy relations with all states.

The preparation and discussion of the pre-congress documents enlivened the party's ideological and political work and encouraged the growth of the public activity of the million-strong working masses.

The new draft edition of the program and statutes have been widely discussed at meetings of primary party organizations, at rayon, city, okrug, oblast and kray report-back and election conferences, and at the congresses of the Communist Parties of the union republics. Since the start of the discussion, the draft program alone has attracted more than 6 million responses. Their authors — workers and collective farmers, scientists, teachers, engineers, doctors, servicemen of the Soviet Army and Navy,

Communists and non-party people, veterans and young people — in assessing the new edition of the party as a document that corresponds to the vital interests of the Soviet people, have contributed numerous proposals, addenda and editorial amplifications. It seems expedient to dwell on some of them.

The authors of a number of letters, noting the new features of the draft under discussion, are in favor of adopting it at the congress as the party's Fourth Program. It is well known that the adoption of new party programs — first the Second and then the Third, was brought about by the achievement of the targets which were mapped out in the preceding programs. In this case, the situation is otherwise.

The party's fundamental tasks in development and strengthening of socialism and its steady comprehensive perfection, and the further advance of Soviet society towards communism, remain in force. The document reproduces the fundamental theoretical and political provisions, which have stood the test of time.

At the same time, in the 25 years since the adoption of the Third Party Program, much in life has changed, fresh historical experience has been accumulated, and not all evaluations and conclusions have been confirmed. Putting the tasks of the developed construction of communism onto the plane of immediate practical deeds has proved to be premature. There were also certain miscalculations about the timescale of the resolution of a number of specific issues. New problems of the perfection of socialism, of the acceleration of its development and of international politics have been put on the agenda and have become acute. All of this has had to be reflected in the party's programmatic document.

Thus, the evaluation of the document presented as a new edition of the Third Party Program has real foundations and is of significance in principle. It reaffirms the main aims of the CPSU and the fundamental laws of communist construction; at the same time it bears witness to the creative interpretation of the accumulated historical experience and to the working out of strategy and tactics in correspondence with the peculiarities of the period of great change we are living through.

Much public attention has been attracted by the provisions of the program which describe the stage of social development reached by the country and targets to be attained as a result of its implementation. Various opinions have been expressed in this connection. Some suggest the complete removal from the program of the provisions concerning developed socialism. Others, on the other hand, consider that this should be treated at greater length.

Set forth in the draft is a considered and realistic stance on this issue. In the basic conclusions about the modern socialist society, it is reaffirmed that our country has entered the stage of developed socialism. We also, have understanding for the proposal on the task of building developed socialism in the program documents of fraternal parties of socialist countries.

At the same time, it is appropriate to recall that the thesis of developed socialism was disseminated among us as a reaction to a more lightweight presentation of the ways and timescales for solving the tasks of communist construction. But later the emphases in the treatment of developed socialism gradually became displaced. Often matters were reduced to a statement of successes, while many topical problems connected with transferring the economy onto the path of intensification, increasing labor productivity, improving supplies to the population, and overcoming negative phenomena were avoided or left without due attention. This served perhaps unintentionally as a kind of justification for delay in solving tasks which had arisen. Today, when the party has proclaimed and is carrying out a course towards the acceleration of socioeconomic development, this kind of approach is unacceptable.

The conditions which have arisen require us to direct theoretical and political thought, not to preserving what has been achieved, but to devising ways and methods of accelerating socioeconomic progress with which qualitative changes in various spheres of life are linked. It is a question of an immeasurably more thorough approach to solving the main tasks of social progress. The need for changes and for more dynamism in the development of society is the essence of the CPSU's strategy set out in the new edition of the program. Precisely on the basis of socioeconomic acceleration, our society is faced with moving forward to new limits, when the advantages of the socialist system will be revealed in their greatest entirety and the problems we have inherited from preceding stages will be solved.

Various views have also been expressed on the problem of setting out the details of the program tenets. Some believe that the program should be an even more condensed document, a kind of short declaration of the party's intentions. Others favor a more detailed exposition of the parameters of economic and social development. A number of letters propose defining more precisely the chronology of those periods through which Soviet society will pass on its progress toward communism.

According to Lenin's principles on drawing up program documents and according to tradition, the program should provide a ramified picture of the contemporary world, the basic trends and natural laws of its development, a clear and well argued presentation of the aims that the party is setting for itself and which it is calling on the masses to achieve. At the same time, Lenin stressed that the program should be strictly scientific, proceed from absolutely established facts, be distinguished by economic exactitude, and not make superfluous promises. He called for maximum realism in describing the future of society and the task being put forward. Lenin wrote: "One must be as cautious and precise as possible, and if we lay even the smallest claim to what we are unable to give, this will weaken the force of our program. They, the workers, will suspect that our program is only a fantasy. It seems that the proposed edition of the program is in accord with these demands."

I think that the proposed edition of the program meets these requirements. As far as a chronological framework for achieving the program targets is concerned, there is no justification for setting any. The miscalculations that were made in the past have taught us a lesson. Today it can definitely be said only that the fulfillment of our program goes beyond the end of the current century.

[In the television broadcast, Gorbachev omits the two preceding

paragraphs.]

The tasks to be tackled in the next 15 years do lend themselves to more concrete definition. They are set forth in the new edition of the program, and in more detail in the Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the Country up to the Year 2000. And of course, an important place in the implementation of the program goals will be taken by the 12th 5-Year Plan, which is expected to be a major step in the transfer of the national economy to the course of intensive development on the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

A considerable proportion of the responses and letters that come into the commission... [at this point in the television broadcast, Gorbachev pauses, realizing that he has left out the two preceding paragraphs mentioned above. He says: "It seems that I have left out a section of Lenin's fundamental thoughts about the approach to drawing up the program and they are worth recalling." He then reads the two paragraphs beginning: "According to Lenin's principles..." After he finishes reading the second paragraph, Gorbachev says: "As far as the forthcoming quinquennium and the 12th quinquennium are concerned, I have already spoken." He then continues with the text.]

A considerable proportion of the responses and letters that come into the commission of the CPSU Central Committee for the preparation of the new edition of the CPSU Program are devoted to questions of social policy. Soviet people approve and support the measures to increase people's well-being, to confirm social justice everywhere, and cleanse our life of everything that is contrary to the principles of socialism. They put forward proposals aimed at increasing full and strict implementation of the principle of distributing rewards according to the quantity and quality of labor, improving the social consumption funds, intensifying surveillance over the amount of labor and the amount of consumption, resolute supression of unearned incomes and attempts to use public property for selfish ends, removing unjustified differences in material rewards for equal labor for workers in different sectors, at overcoming wage leveling, and so on.

[In the television broadcast, Gorbachev coughs and pauses for 20 seconds. He says: "It looks like the end is nigh." He coughs again; laughter, commotion and general merriment from the audience. He continues the paragraph.]

Some of these proposals have been reflected in the draft. Others should be thoroughly examined by party, soviet, and economic bodies and taken into consideration in legislative acts and decisions and in practical work.

During the nationwide discussion, great interest was aroused by the program provisions for the development of people's socialist self-government. Unanimous support is being expressed for the line of comprehensive democratization of socialist society and for the maximal and effective involvement of all working people in the governing of economic, social, and political processes. Specific steps in this area are also being approved. Ideas are being put forward that in elucidating the issue of improving the management of matters of the society and the state, the capabilities of the labor collectives as the primary cells of immediate and direct democracy should be more widely shown. These have been taken into consideration.

Requests for strengthening the Soviet people's education in the spirit of communist ideals and moral norms, and the struggle against their opposites, have been dictated by concern for the spiritual ennoblement of our society. The program commission deemed it expedient to adopt these proposals, so that the principles of high ideological integrity and morality would even more fully permeate the content of the requirements of the party program.

About 2 million people have voiced their ideas on the CPSU Statutes. In consideration of the results of the discussion, the party Central Committee has deemed it necessary to make a number of substantial additions and amplifications to the draft statutes, aimed at raising the vanguard role of Communists, the fighting efficiency of the primary party organizations, developing intra-party democracy, and ensuring permanent control of the activity of every party organization and every worker.

Some comrades, in support of the thesis of raising exactingness toward Communists, propose to that end to conduct a purge of the party in order to liberate it of those whose behavior and way of life run contrary to our norms and ideals. I think there is no necessity to conduct a special campaign of purging the CPSU ranks. Our party is a healthy body. It is improving the style and methods of its activity, eradicating formalism, bureaucracy, and red tape, and cutting off all that is stagnant and conservative and hampers our movement onward, freeing itself of those who have compromised themselves through bad work and unworthy behavior. Party organizations must continue to carry out this work consistently, systematically, and unswervingly.

The new edition of the program and also the proposed changes to the party statutes enshrine and develop the Bolshevik principles of party construction and of the style and methods of party work, and the moral norms of behavior of Communists, which were worked out by Lenin and proven in practice.

On the whole, comrades, the results of the discussion of the CPSU Program and statutes have been exceedingly fruitful. They have enabled many ideas and provisions to be developed, formulations to be clarified, and the wording to be improved. Allow me, on behalf of our congress, to express profound gratitude to Communists and to all Soviet people for their businesslike and interested involvement in the discussion of the precongress documents. **(prolonged applause)**

In the view of the party's Central Committee, the proposed drafts, enriched by the experience of the party and the experience of the people, are in tune with the spirit of the times and the demands of the historical period we are living through. They confirm our party's loyalty to the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism, give scientifically-based replies to the fundamental issues of domestic and international life, and equip Communists and all working people with a clear view of the long term. **(stormy applause)**

Comrades! Such are the programmatic tasks for our further development which have been proposed for consideration by the

27th congress.

Where do we find evidence of the practicability of the plans we have outlined, where do we find the guarantee that the course toward the acceleration of social and economic progress is a true one and will be implemented?

Above all, in the fact that our plans are built on the firm foundation of Marxist-Leninist science and rely on the inexhaustible wealth of the ideas of Vladimir Ilich Lenin.

The CPSU draws strength from the vast possibilities of socialism and the living creativity of the masses. At difficult historical turning-points the Leninist party has repeatedly demonstrated its ability to find the right ways ahead and to inspire, rally and organize the millions of members of the working masses. That is how it was in the years of the revolution, of peaceful construction, wartime trials, and the difficult post-war period. We are confident that that is the way it will continue to be. **(prolonged applause)**

We are counting on the support of the working class, because the party's policy is its policy. **(prolonged applause)**

We are counting on the support of the peasantry, because the party's policy is its policy. **(prolonged applause)**

We are counting on the support of the people's intelligentsia, because the party's policy is its policy. **(prolonged applause)**

We are counting on the support of women, our young people, veterans, all social groups, all nations and ethnic groups of the Soviet motherland, for the party's policy is an expression of the hopes, interests and desires of the whole people. **(prolonged applause)**

We are convinced that all aware, honest people, and every Soviet patriot, will support the party's strategic course, aimed at strengthening the might of our state, so that our life can become better, purer and more just. **(prolonged applause)**

Such are the mighty social forces which stand behind the CPSU. They are following it and believe in the party of the Communists. **(stormy applause)**

The indomitable flow of history has already taken off for the turnover between the second and third millennia. What lies beyond this boundary? We shall not prophesy, but we know that the plans which we are putting forward today are not commonplace ones, but audacious ones, and that our everyday affairs are imbued with the spirit of socialist morality and justice. **(prolonged applause)** In today's troubled age, our social and, I would say, life strategy is intended to enable people to preserve the planet, the skies, and outer space, to conquer it like settlers of a **peaceful** civilization, having cleared life of nuclear nightmares and finally having liberated for constructive aims, and constructive ones only, all the best qualities of such a unique inhabitant of the universe as man. **(prolonged applause)**

The Soviet people can rest assured that the party is profoundly aware of its responsibility for the country's future and for a stable peace on earth, for the correctness of the course mapped out. The main thing that is needed for its practical implementation is persistent work, the unity of the party and the people, and cohesive action by all working people. **(stormy applause)**

Only like this, in this and only in this way will we be able to fulfill the behest of great Lenin: To rise higher and go forward with energy and unity of will. History has given us no other destiny. But what a fine destiny it is, comrades! **(stormy, prolonged applause, all stand)**